

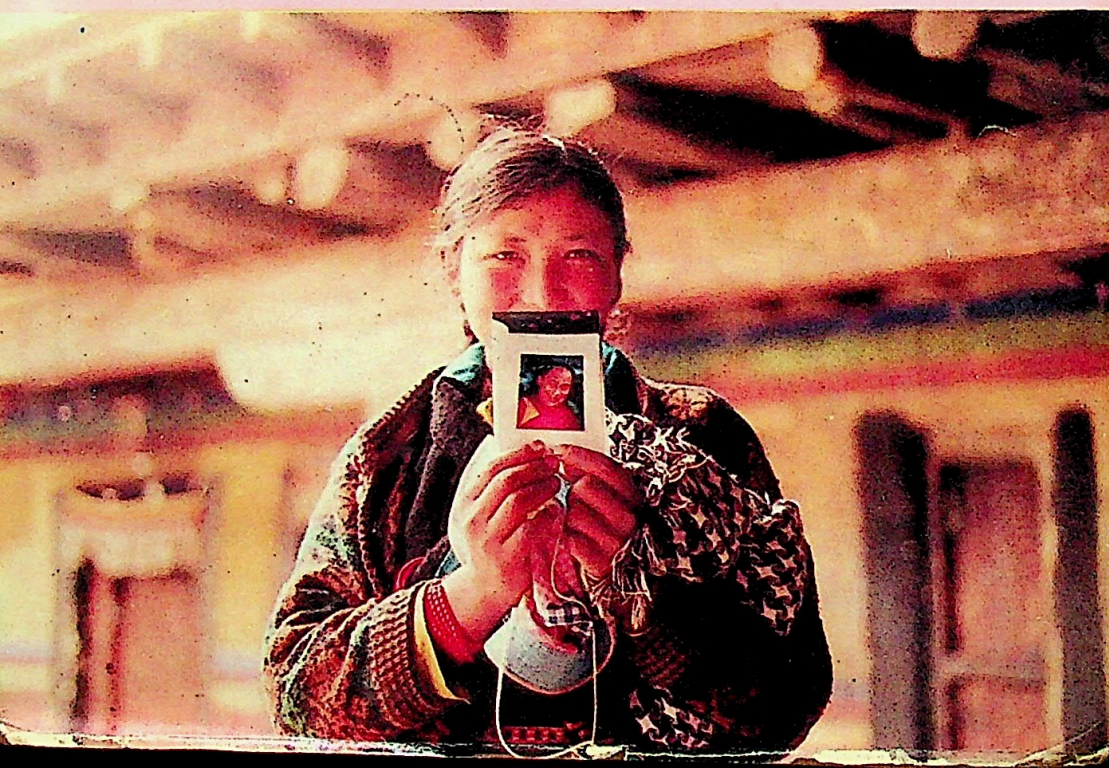


TIBET: A Reality

234

M.G. CHITKARA

Introduction by
H.H. TENZIN GYATSO
The Fourteenth Dalai Lama

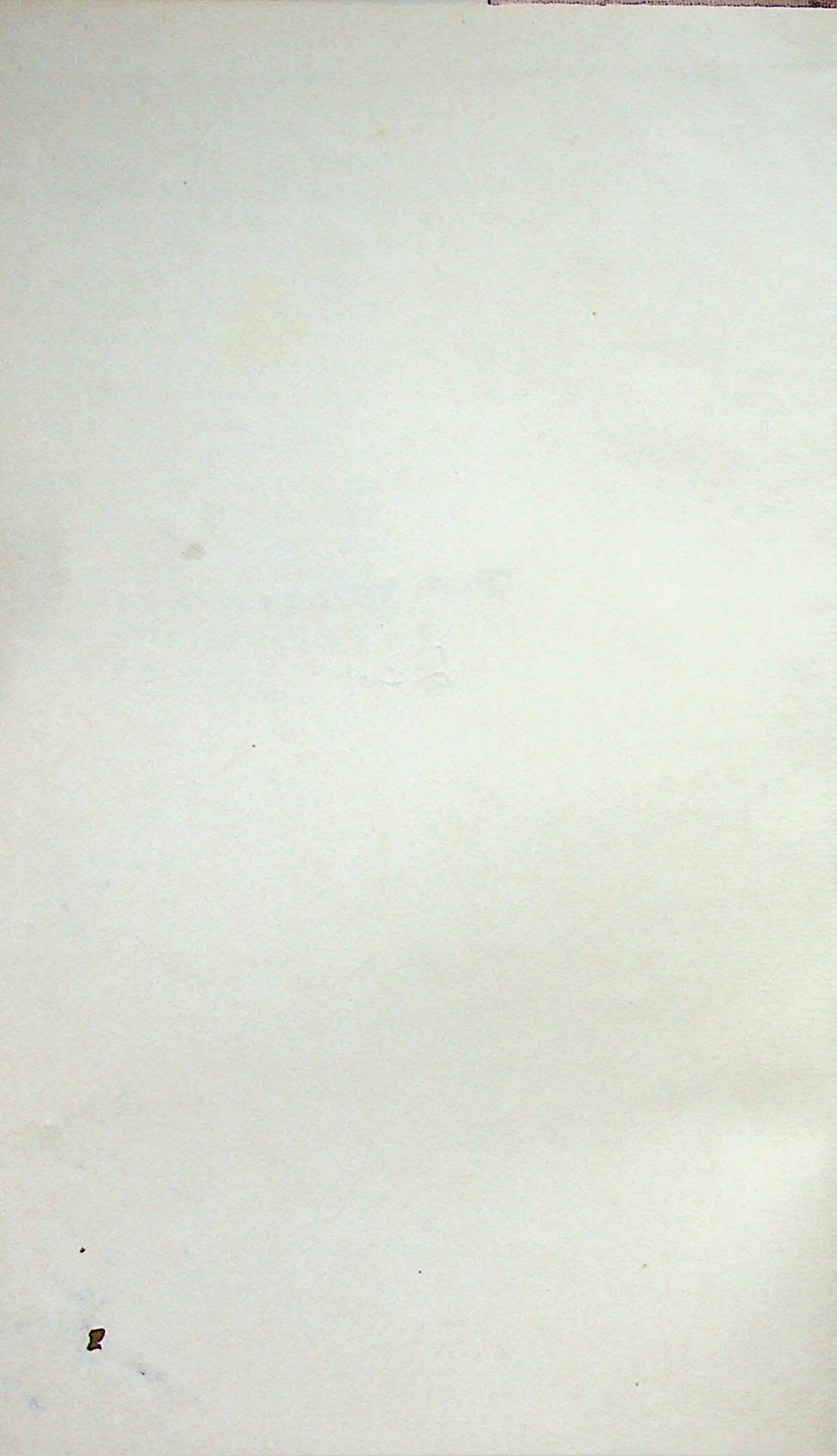


Tibet's highly strategic position is a heart of Asia, separating great continents, great powers—India, China and USSR has throughout history in both Tibet with an essential role in maintenance of stability and peace. With its spiritual heritage and pre-occupation with peaceful pursuits Tibet is ideally suited to provide a sanctuary of peace at the heart of Asia. Its historic status as a neutral buffer State, contributing to the peace of the entire continent, can be restored. In future, Tibet will be a heaven for humanity and nature to live in harmonious balance. The moment the Tibet is free and independent country it will be a zone of peace and India shall then be in a position to gradually utilize more budget for its development and other gainful purposes. The answer to many of India's economic ills lie in Tibet's independence and its status as a Buffer State.

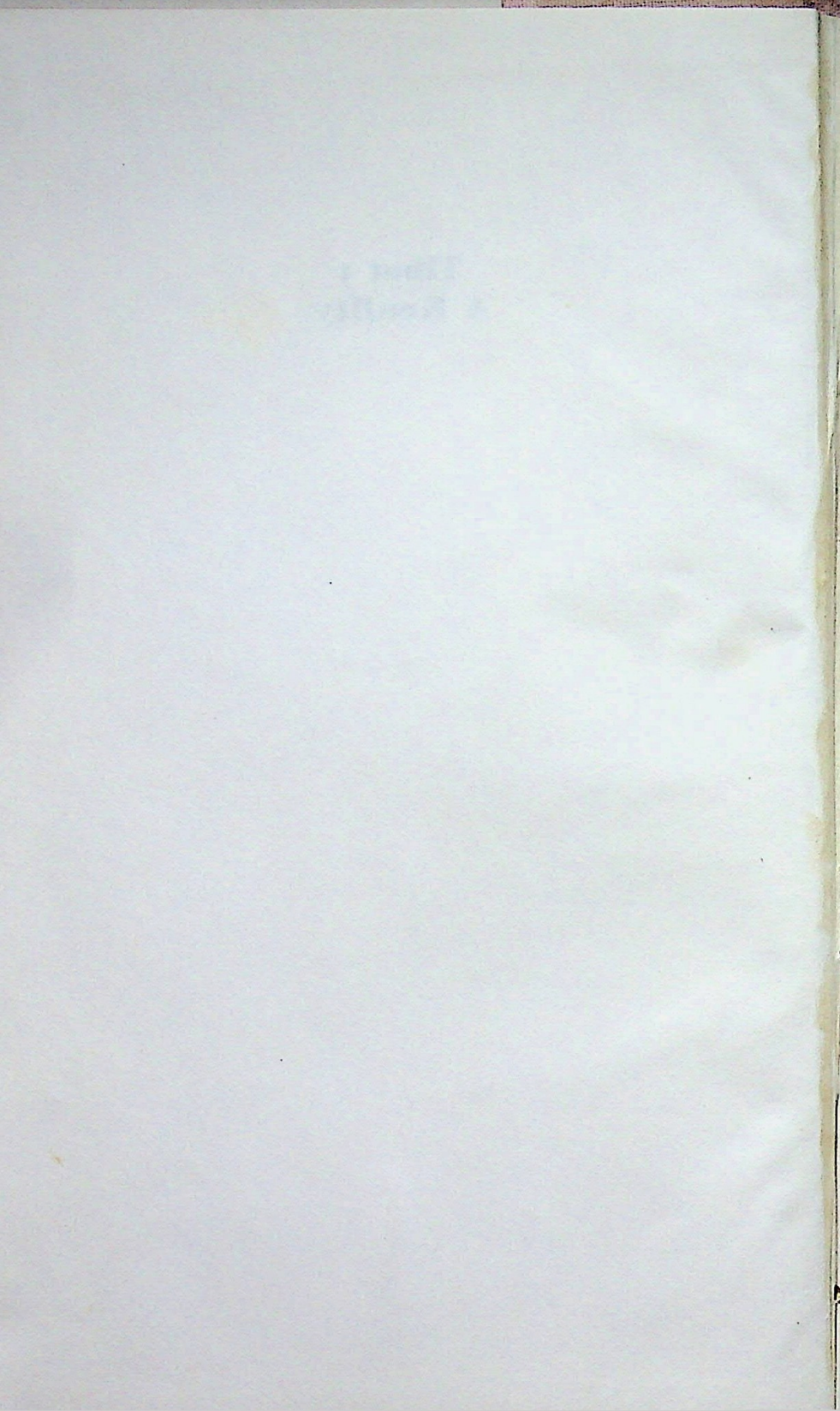
(10)

आदरणीय इन्दिरा जी. (19)
सादर ज्ञेय
मदनमोहन मालवीय
20-XI-2000

शारदा पुस्तकालय
(संजीवनी श. द. केंद्र)
क्रमांक 234.....



Tibet :
A Reality



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शारदा पुस्तकालय
(संजीवनी शा. दा. केन्द्र)
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M.G. CHITKARA

ASHISH PUBLISHING HOUSE

8/81, PUNJABI BAGH
NEW DELHI - 110026

Published by:

S.B. NANGIA

For ASHISH PUBLISHING HOUSE

8/81, Punjabi Bagh

New Delhi - 110026

Ph.: 500581, 5410924

Showroom:

5, Ansari Road,

New Delhi - 110002

Ph.: 3274050, 3285807

First Published, 1994

ISBN 81-7024-639-3

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Typeset by:

ALFA COMPUTER CENTRE

Vikas Marg, Delhi - 110092

Printed at:

Efficient Offset Printers

New Delhi - 110035

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FOREWORD

I have great pleasure for writing 'Foreword' to the Book titled 'Tibet : A Reality' which is being brought out by Mr. M.G. Chitkara.

All the present day countries of the world have written and re-written their history. They have witnessed great changes and evolutionary upheavals in territory, in forms of Government and their relations with other countries many a time. Perhaps there is no exception. It is the same story with Tibet aptly called 'The Roof of the World' nestling between what-was-till-yesterday, the Soviet Union, China and India. Extant Tibetan historical record speak of existence of a Kingdom around 127 years before Christ. Of its earlier Rulers, the name of Emperor Songten Gampa commands respect. So far and wide was his great Empire spread and so strong and he built his administration that even after a lapse of 300 years or so, it forced the King of Nepal and Emperor of China to seek peace by offering the hand of their daughters to his decendent, the then reigning Emperor of Tibet. Tibet has existed as a unified Nation for more than 2000 years, the last 300 years under the temporal and acclesial rôle of Dalai Lama and his successive incarnations.

The overthrow of the Manchus in the Chinese Revolution of 1911 and the forcible expulsion of their Garison from Tibet a year later made possible the return of 13th Dalai Lama from exile in India. His first act on return was proclamation of resumption of Tibetan independence.

Throughout its history, it had all the attributes of an independent State and had exercised the States' jurisdiction in terms of the International Law of Nations.

It is a paradox of history that the land that had for centuries practised and followed the tenets of Lord Buddha, the apostle of peace was turned into a vast ground to play war like games. Uranium had remained treasure in the bowels mother earth for million of years in Tibet. Now, it is being exploited in a non-scientific way and the same is being developed for destruction of the humanity.

Under the Buddhist Tibet, uranium was being used for peaceful purposes and for economical and spiritual development of the humanity.

The Tibetans in exile have been envisaged a democratic set up for Tibet on the principle of adult franchise - 'One man-one vote'. Will Durant, in his book "The pleasures of Philosophy", on the subject is democracy a failure ? elucidates with insight; "The Theory of Democracy had presumed that man was a rational animal; no doubt some one had seen this in a book of logic. But man is an emotional animal, occasionally rational; and through his feelings he can be deceived to his heart's content. It may be true as Lincoln pretended to believe that you cannot fool all the people all the time", but you can fool enough of them to rule a large country but it has been computed that the supply of fools on this planet is replenished at the rate of two hundred every minute which is a bad omen for democracy.

The democracy in Tibet can succeed provided they achieve freedom, may be limited, i.e., Defence and Foreign Affairs remaining with China as suggested by His Holiness the Dalai Lama. These are apt to defreeze the frigid relations between Tibet and China. Signs of warming up are visible.

It is to be expected that in the interest of their respective people and under the influence of the growing world opinion, the day is not far when both China and Tibet would sit around the negotiating table to work out a mutual beneficial solution to the problem bearing in mind that given will and sincerity of purpose there is no knot that cannot be possibly be untied.

Before the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet, from India, Tibet had its own religion, Bon. The importation of Buddhism contributed to enrich the existing the Tibetan culture. Tibetans consider India a very holy land because of the birth of Buddha and more so because the compassion and blessings which Lord Buddha brought to the world. Traditionally, Tibetans are a peace loving and non-violent people. Efforts deserve to be made not to explore, excavate uranium in Tibet. Tibet should not be permitted by the world community for the production of nuclear weapons.

Historical documents reveal that Tibet was de facto independent State when "Seventeen Point Agreement" was signed between China and Tibet.

The Tibetans are now treated as second class citizens in their own country by the Chinese Government in Tibet. Even His Holiness, the 14th Dalai Lama had experienced nine years of Chinese rule in Tibet and he made efforts to arrive at an amicable settlement with China but the situation deteriorated that his Holiness alongwith thousands of other Tibetans had to flee from their own country and to take refuge in India and in other countries.

Tibet's highly strategic position is a heart of Asia, separating great continents great powers - India, China and USSR has throughout history in both Tibet with an essential role in maintenance of stability and peace. His Holiness Dalai Lama is repeatedly appealing the world

community for co-operation and co-existence as Tibet is undergoing a very difficult period. The Tibetans - more particularly those who are living under Chinese occupation are yearning for freedom with a view to enable them to fully preserve their identity.

Mr. Chitkara has shown great industry in the preparation of the book and has made an attempt in the right direction. The moment the Tibet is free and independent country it will be a Zone of peace and India shall then be in a position to gradually utilize more budget for its development and for other gainful purposes. I wish success for Mr.Chitkara in this noble venture.

Justice Vyom Parkash Gupta, (Rtd), **VYOM PRAKASH GUPTA**
Judge, H.P. High Court.
Dharamsala,
September 28, 1993

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Tibet, once called the "dead heart of Asia" is the most fascinating land on the Earth. Its religion is one of the most complex ones in the world. It is composed of tightly-knit myths, rites, rituals, beliefs and customs which have evolved from pre-historic times. Mythologically, it is a combination of divine and human communities. The Tibetan society is worthy of study. Tibetan sources claim that during the heyday of their empire their kings conquered the kings of the four directions and forced them to pay tribute. They, at one time, reached up to the Tarim region, the present day East Turkistan. Christopher I. Beckwith in his article 'The Tibetan Empire in the west 'quotes references of' the Tibetan Conquest of the Pannis and the countries in and around these mountains.' According to him the Tibetans attached 'Little Batur' in 722. He claims that 'Tibetan control of the southern Pannis and even the southeastern parts of Badakhstan and Farghana lasted well into the tenth century.'

Tibet, with all the mysteries and great thought of Buddhism, has been of a special interest to me since my childhood. The Buddhist way of simple and peace loving life, has been a case of special inspiration and solace to me as it temperamentally suits everyone in the present world of stresses and strains. I have no background of methodical study of Buddhism and Tibetan Studies. But how the idea of contributing a volume on various aspects relating to Tibetan studies culminated, is a matter of astonishment even for me. Since my early days, I felt

captivated by the idea of knowing more and more about the land. I don't claim to have contributed anything significant and have simply tried to collect and assemble various thoughts and findings of various scholars in rather loose threadbare. I am so grateful to all of them.

A glance through the pages of this book will reveal its intention of providing a reasonably comprehensive collection of facts about Tibetan life and culture. I feel that many books have been written on all these subjects separately by various authors and the approaches to the subjects dealt has been quite diverse. One can question the need for writing a book on the subject as this. I am only to say that Tibet, with its rich cultural and artistic heritage, deserves many more books and literary, historical and sociological contributions. I personally feel that China, while claiming the hold of Tibet, should not try to erase the Tibetan's identity and unique religious, cultural and traditional heritage of this land of reformers and seekers of the Truth. Histories change but the damage done to the heritage of mankind and for that matter to Civilizations, is irreparable. With this caution, I tried to delve with the subject and the views expressed in the book are either mine or are of the authorities with whom I have tried to share their thoughts by way of their writings or verbal or written exchange of ideas. It is, however, not possible to make a mention of all of the generous scholars who have made me indebted by contributing to the present venture but I take this opportunity to express my heartfelt gratitude to one and all and especially to H.H. the Dalai Lama, S/Shri T.S. Negi, V. Verma, Dr. Usha Bande, Justice Vyom Prakash Gupta (Retd), Mian Goverdhan Singh, Dr. Bansi Ram Sharma and Vijay Kranti.

M.G. Chitkara

THE CONTRIBUTION

Tibet is a land of mystery, spirituality and antiquity. It is the abode of 'Om Mane Padme Hum', the six syllable prayer chanted by every native of the land. It is indeed the sacred heart of Asia. The known historical background of the region amply testifies that since remote past, there have been upheavals and towards the close of the seventh century, Tibet emerged as one of the major military and cultural powers in the Trans-Himalayan region. Tibet conquered the four central Asian garrisons situated at Karashahr, Khotan, Kashgar and Kucha during the period Ca 701-738 AD. In 783 and later during 822, China and Tibet signed peace treaties which are still preserved. One such treaty made during 821-822 AD inscribed on the west side of a Monolith in Lhasa reads:

"The divine king of Miracles Khri Gtsug Lde Btsan and the Chinese king Bhun Bhu He-hu Tig Hvan Te, Nephew and uncle, with far reaching wisdom guarding against anything that may harm the good of their countries at present or in the future... have made this great treaty.

Tibet and China shall keep the frontier of which they now hold possession. All to the east is the country of Great China. All to the west is assuredly the country of Great Tibet. Henceforth, on either side, there shall be no enmity, no making of war and no seizure of territory..." (Richardson 1952: 71, as quoted by Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter in 'The Silk Route and the Diamond path', 1982: 152-153).

During the regime of Tibetan king Srong tsan Gam-po (620-649 AD) Buddhism spread in Tibet under the royal patronage. The legend goes that king Srong-tsan Gam-po married Nepalese and Chinese princesses who practised Buddhistic faith and this helped Buddhism to gain grounds among elite and upper classes of the society. Later King Trisrong De-tsan (755-797) adopted it as state religion and as a result of this, the great monastery of Samye was founded during Ca.775 Ad. We have information through various sources that Buddhist monastic institutions became vibrant with religious, economic and political activities by the mid-ninth century. The Buddhist monks and monasteries became very powerful and these were exempted from taxation and military training. King Lang darma (832-842) worked against the interests of Buddhism and religious institutions with a view to grab the wealth of the monasteries but failed miserably. At one time, Western Tibet, with its capital at Tsaparang and a big monastery at Tholing, emerged as an important centre of religious, philosophic and artistic activity under the patronage of the kings Ye-Ses Od (Jnan prabh) and Byang chub Od (Bodhi Prabh). (Snellgrove and Richardson 1968 : 105-115) King Ye-Ses Od later turned to be a monk and was conferred the title of 'Lha bla-ma' (Dev Guru). Thus we see that the institution of the Dalai-Lamas emerged gradually and the fusion of religion with socio-political and economic powers made Tibet an unique religious kingdom in the world. There have been fourteen incarnations of the Dalai-Lamas since the first Dalai Lama Gedun Truppa (1391-1472) and it would be interesting to note that all the incarnations took their next birth after almost one year after their death excepting second, seventh and the fourteenth holiness who came back after the interval of three and two years respectively as is clear from the brief details of the religious heads in the present volume.

'Tibet : A Reality' gives interesting reading on the religious and political system of the region. The author Shri MG Chitkara has worked very hard to consult various authorities on the subject and carefully presenting the matter under different chapters of the book. Tibet, indeed, is a home of wisdom, spirituality and contentment. Lamaistic order plays a pivotal role in everyday life of the people of this region who, by nature, are against any type of violence. It is an agonising fact that the self contented natives are being denied to live peacefully as a free and independent nation. Mr. Chitkara is justified in his conviction that answer to many of India's economic ills lie in Tibet's independence and its status as a buffer state.

The present contribution, it is hoped, would motivate the reader and policy-makers to delve deeply to have a more balanced approach towards the suffering masses of the region.

Shri Chitkara deserves all appreciation for this striking, timely and bold contribution.

BANSI RAM SHARMA, Ph.D.,

*(Former Secretary,
Himachal Academy of Arts
Culture and Languages)*

Shimla: 11.12.1993.

PREVIEW

It is interesting to note that the Tibetan issue is once again finding an important place on the political agenda of countries that matter more than others. After keeping the issue under the rug for nearly a quarter century most of the western and other influential countries are suddenly waking up to the colonial occupation, denial of human rights and cultural genocide that have been consistently going on inside Tibet since early 50s. During past one decade it has been heartening to see a chain of national and regional parliaments expressing concern over the Tibetan situation and extending support to the Tibetans in their national struggle under the leadership of their exiled ruler and spiritual leader His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

A Similar interest is now picking up among the world media and the writers' tribe who, amidst the cacophony of Sino-US honeymoon, had earlier written off the Tibetan issue as dead and gone. Unfortunately, the Indian media and authors have yet to wake up and realise the importance of this issue. They are still indifferent and oblivious on this issue — despite the fact that the occupation of Tibet has brought direct and permanent pressures on the Indian security and her national economy.

It is therefore interesting to see a new book, written by an Indian author, going to the book stand, More so as it comes from a professional author who has been deeply involved in the bureaucratic intricacies of the Indian

administration. That reflects his concerns. His concern for Tibet, its people and culture also reflects through the pages of the book. As expressed honestly by the author himself in the preface, this book is, to a good extent, an assortment of views expressed by a variety of authors and experts including the author himself. That makes this work a psychodelic presentation with many sparkles of brilliance at places. The way he has extensively quoted various sources in this book shows his appetite for reading and taking notes. At many places his attempts to peep into the Tibetan philosophy of life and its close association with the Indian philosophy are quite interesting and informative. In short, this book is a sympathetic commentary on the Tibetan issue. I wish Mr. Chitkara success in this venture.

VIJAY KRANTI

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CHAPTER ONE



THE DALAI LAMA INTRODUCTION*

Culturally speaking, we Tibetans owe a great debt to India. In the past there were close links between our two countries, not so much political and economic as spiritual and cultural in nature. Tibetan culture is not just the product of an ancient civilisation, of interest only to scholars and tourists. There is a great deal in Tibet's religious experience, its medical knowledge, peaceful outlook and respectful attitude to the environment that is relevant to the problems we face today. Unfortunately, this precious cultural heritage is now under grave threat of extinction. In Tibet, severe constraints on monasteries and other Tibetan educational institutions, unemployment, imposition of alien farming techniques and Chinese population transfer are combining to undermine Tibetans' unique identity. Therefore, we need help if Tibetan culture is to be preserved.

* Tenzin Gyatso, His Holiness The Fourteenth Dalai Lama.

The Tibetan people yearn to be free once more to develop culturally, intellectually, economically and spiritually. They have a right to live in democratic liberty. The restoration of an independent Tibet will benefit India and contribute to world peace. When Tibet again becomes a zone of peace from which all military installations have been removed, India will be able to withdraw her forces from her northern border. This will have beneficial effects throughout the region.

With its spiritual heritage and preoccupation with peaceful pursuits my country is ideally suited to provide a sanctuary of peace at the heart of Asia. Its historic status as a neutral buffer state, contributing to the peace of the entire continent, can be restored. In future, Tibet will be a haven for humanity and nature to live in harmonious balance.

The Tibetan urge for freedom has the support of truth and justice, but it is important that the truth be clearly proclaimed. Those who oppose it may be a little hard of hearing, so the time has come for the international community to raise its voice. I believe that because of their unique cultural and geographical ties with Tibet, India and her people can play a leading role. M.G. Chitkara's book, *Tibet - A Reality* is a fitting example. In it he offers us not only friendly concern, but also support for the rights and principles that we all require.

December 2, 1993

CHAPTER TWO

A HOME OF WISDOM

In a variety of ways, in different forms and in many languages, from the most ancient to the most modern times all the great instructors of humanity have taught certain truths from which human ignorance and credulity have again and again drawn away our minds and our hearts in the pursuit of eternal truth. Shri Krishna in the Bhagvad Gita speaks of the repeated efforts periodically made to teach humanity the self-same truths which enable us to destroy unrighteousness.¹ Over the centuries there have been many masters who have trodden different paths to achieve the truth. The Lord Buddha is one of them. The study of Buddhism Leads one to think that inspite of the differences in the names and forms which are used by various religions, the ultimate truth towards which they tend is the same.² In the quest for ultimate truth, if it is not manifested in us, it is because we have not found it. The ultimate truth exists. By thinking deeply and reflecting carefully, we will realise that we ourselves exist in the ultimate truth.³ Tibetans believe that truth is to be seen, identified, heard, understood and to be practised.⁴ Mathew Arnold is justified in saying: Truth sits upon the lips of the dying man. Generally speaking, no one can be said to be aware about the time of his death. So wise advise for practising. Truly speaking, truth is a vision; it is not in the words of the text-books themselves but lies behind the words. It

cannot be learned but must be experienced.^{4(a)} An insatiable thirst for knowledge, wisdom and truth - both temporal and eternal - existed in India from ancient Vedic times. Centuries before the first Universities of Europe came into existence, India had developed famous centres of higher education, between the fourth and ninth centuries A.D. The great Universities flourished. Some of these, the most famous of all, Kanchi, Madura, Taxila, Nalanda, Vikramsila, Somasuri, Tamluk, Ujjain, Padmavati and Nagarjunikonda were established as centres of learning. It was from centres like these that a stream of Indian scholars went out across the mountains to distant lands including Tibet. Tibet became repository of Indian knowledge. Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, in *Discovery of India*, elaborates that: During eleventh century onwards many Buddhists monks, carrying bundles of manuscripts crossed Himalayas, went into Tibet. Tibet was full of many Indian classics.⁵ India suffered irreparable loss by destruction of some of her ancient seats of learning by untutored conquerors. Taxila was destroyed by the Huns in the fifth century whereas Nalanda and Vikramsila by hordes from Central Asia and Afghanistan in the beginning of the thirteenth century.⁶ When the Moghuls invaded India, a great deal of original Buddhism was lost and destroyed. However, luckily by then, a huge amount of literature had already been copied and was safely preserved in the monasteries of Tibet.⁷

If one is not living in truth of any one religion then it may not be possible to fathom the depths of wisdom of other religions, because religion has to be lived.⁸ When the truth of a religion has been realised through living in it, then there is no harm in reading the texts of other religions. It will then be found that the truth of one's own religion is essentially the truth of the religions of others. These truths are criteria of right and wrong.⁹ One who can distinguish between right and wrong and practise accordingly may be said to be wise. The simple

knowledge and learning would not make a man religious and wise. Lord Tennyson says: Knowledge comes but wisdom lingers.¹⁰ The great philosopher Saadi often reminded his disciples that "He who learns the rules of wisdom without conforming to them in his life is like a man who ploughs his field but does not sow."¹¹ Leonards da Vinci is justified in saying: To think is easy, to act is hard, but to act according to one's thinking is the hardest thing in the world.¹²

The doctrine of Buddhism is not meant for simple knowledge, it is a means of improving our mind. Today, it must be an integral part of our life. The most important thing is practice.¹³ In practice, one must control oneself, do as much as possible to curb wrongful actions that may harm other people - then to help others. 'Be transformed from within, and leave the outward appearance be'. That is what counts.¹⁴ The first, 'Help other people' - Mahayana or Great Vehicle. The second, 'At least do not harm other people', - Himayana - the lesser vehicle.

The Buddhist philosophy of compassion, love and help may be visualised in Baba Amte who is an extraordinary person. After a long vigorous life, during which he has suffered great physical hardship, he is himself virtually a cripple and, because of damage to his spine, he can now only stand straight or lie down. Yet he remains full of energy. On what was previously barren earth he has brought into existence a thriving community surrounded by trees, a rose garden and a vegetable garden, and provided with a small hospital, an old people's home, schools and workshops. This alone is a great achievement, but what makes the place remarkable is that it was built entirely by handicapped people.¹⁵

Since centuries the Tibetans due to their wisdom both in theory and practice, believe in not harming others and if possible to help others and preserve the truth, which remains their greatest national possession, perhaps

believing that a system which suppresses the truth or fears to make it known and publish it, ultimately collapses.

Tibetans practice deep meditation to cultivate wisdom. Along with development of their wisdom, their sense of ethics grows stronger.¹⁶ Tibetan Buddhists believe in and recite the mantra "Om Mani padme hum", meaning that in dependence on the practice of a path which is an indivisible union of method and wisdom, one can transform one's impure body, speech, and mind into pure exalted body, speech and mind of Buddha. Padma in the mantra means lotus, symbolizing wisdom.¹⁷ He who understands Omkar, not the mere Aum Sound, but the truth signified by OM, is the real man of reflection, the real sage of wisdom and God realisation.¹⁸

The Dalai Lama believes and emphasises :- a religious practitioner is actually a soldier engaged in combat. Ignorance, anger, attachment and pride are the ultimate enemies; they are not outside, but within, and must be fought with the weapons of wisdom and concentration. Wisdom is the bullet, the ammunition; concentration - the calm abiding of the mind - is the weapon for firing it. Just as when we fight an external enemy, there is injury and suffering, so also when we fight internally, there is internal pain and hardship. Thus, religion is an internal matter, and religious precepts have to do with inner development.¹⁹

The Tibetans, because of their long tradition of non-violence and tolerance and because of a certain respect for discipline which was probably inherited, have withstood continuous storms, possibly out of an intuitive wisdom. Wisdom born of intuition may be compared to a well-rooted plant. The foundations may be firm; the root may be strong. The plant may be able to derive the essential nourishing element from the soil. But it is bound to need other nutrients also, from the air, from water and, last

but not the least, from the nourishing hands and tender attention of someone who cares for the plant. The same can be said to be true of the conduct and upbringing of the people. The wisdom which is an in-born part of the nature, like a well-rooted plant, will still need the nourishing care of education and proper guidance. Without such education about the proper place of each individual in society and in the political organisation, the in-born faculty of wisdom soon withers away.²⁰ To preserve the wisdom, the Tibetans have every right to freedom with a view to develop their faculties, unhindered.

The truth and the spiritual power cannot be suppressed by occupation of lands, closure of Temples and suppression of prayers. Parmahansa Yogananda says: Wisdom is not assimilated with the eyes, but with the atoms.²¹ After occupation of Tibet by Chinese, Dalai Lama had to take refuge in India, alongwith other Tibetans. It is not a sheer accident that a Chinese invasion compelled Dalai Lama to take shelter in India alongwith other Tibetans. In fact the Dalai Lama often repeats that India is spiritual Guru of Tibet and it should provide all possible help to Tibet at its hour of crisis. The refuge taken by Tibetans was a natural corollary to our common heritage and perceptions. The background, origin and the basic tenets of Buddhism have a lot to make Tibet a repository of vedic wisdom, Indian culture and eternal truth. For His own realization, God has laid down in Bhagvad Gita two principal ways, Sankhya Yoga and Karam Yoga. Of these - the practice of Sankhyayoga is the practice of realization that all objects being unreal like the water in a mirage, or the creation of a dream. Gunas, which are the products of Maya, move in the Gunas, understanding this, the sense of doership should be lost with regard to all activities of the mind, senses and the body, and being established ever in identity with all prevading God, embodiment of Truth, knowledge and Bliss. Regarding

everything as belonging to God, maintaining equality in success, renouncing attachment and desire for fruit, all actions should be performed at His behest and for the sake of God: and, with utmost faith. Even after subjugation of Tibet, the Wisdom of Lord Buddha may be perceived as personified in Dalai Lama, the Wisdom to which politicians aspire but seldom achieve. The moment any politician achieves wisdom he no longer remains as politician.²² Undoubtedly, every religious path has Wisdom (Prajna) and a Method (Upaya). Wisdom is concerned with Absolute Truth (Parmartha-Satya), and Method with Relative Truth (Sambrith Satya). Nagarujna, the great Indian philosopher and exponent of Buddhism centuries ago said: "Dharmas revealed by Buddhas are always in accordance with the dual Truths, both Absolute and Relative Truth."²³ It is in truth alone where-in the Wisdom may be found.

As of today, there appears to be continuous and conscious effort to change ethnic composition of Tibet. A demographic aggression has been launched with a view to obliterate the Tibetan identity and to shake the faith of Tibetans. Of course, faith is a pre-requisite of Wisdom.

Through faith one relies on the practices, Through wisdom one truly knows. Of these two wisdom is the chief. Faith is its pre-requisite.²⁴

According to Buddhist thought, for a religious practice, one is required to live a life pursuing Bodhisattva ideal - i.e., to dedicate one self entirely to helping all other sentient beings towards release from suffering. Bodhi means the understanding or wisdom of the ultimate nature of reality, and Sattva is some one who is motivated by the universal compassion. The Bodhisattive ideal is thus the aspiration to practice infinite compassion with infinite wisdom.²⁵ Wisdom needs constant practice by the individual himself. Unlike knowledge, it cannot be

passed from one having "Wisdom" to another not having it. A proverb says: Wisdom is the principal thing; therefore get wisdom: and with all by thy getting get understanding. The understanding requires training and concentration of mind. Mind that had played the helper has now become the barrier to further progress. Knowledge without wisdom and mind without soul are of no use to mankind and lead to destruction.²⁶

Indian practical Vedanti, Swami Vivekananda, explains that the raising of the Kundalini is one and the only way to attaining Divine Wisdom. The rousing of the kundalini may come in various ways, through love for God, through the mercy of perfected sages, or through the power of analytic will of the philosophers.²⁷ Wisdom, of course, comes in many forms and is the goal of many fields of human activity. Wisdom also comes from faith, of which the Hebrew Bible says: "The fear of Lord is the beginning of Wisdom." The wisdom of yesterday may obsolesce into the folly of today, even as the science of old may sour into the superstition now and vice versa. However, Tibetans by their knowledge, faith, understanding and by practice have constantly been moving towards the path of wisdom, believing that the wisdom by practice always grow and that too in the company of wise.

According to Tibetans' Buddhist philosophy the path is as important as the goal. The Tibetans are the seekers and pursuers of the Truth-culture in which means are as much sacred as the end. The goal of life has been pointed out, as consciousness or God-consciousness and in order to reach that goal we must not only know it in theory but must necessarily practice ourselves in avoiding such values of life which are dangerous to it; and through dilligent practice and consistent devotion to it, pursue a synthetic Yoga of negating the cause and of asserting the truth. We must know the values of life to be developed through practice and also we must know how to unwind

the knotty vasanas in our mind through deliberate self-application. The things to be attained in life are wisdom, innocence and silence, while "thought to be rendered ineffective" are the fiendish of the animal instincts in us such as attachment, hatred, passions etc.²⁸ According to Shri Sankara, childlike innocence and silence are to be acquired and that leads to wisdom. These are considered accessories of utmost importance for spiritual realisation. Here 'wisdom' means the intellectual capacity to discriminate which is to be developed through devotion, service to the teacher and repeated listening to his words-ultimately to know that the entire Sastras are indicating to a goal which is non-dual and eternal. 'Innocence' means here a child-like existence wherein egoism, vanity, attachments and hatred are the least predominant. 'Silence' is meant here to indicate this inward silence of the mind during the rare moments of real meditation.²⁹

Of course, wisdom is universal and is not the special property or possession of any individual, any one people, race and faith. Wisdom is free for all and is common property of all men who are sincere and pure. All who live the life of the soul can acquire wisdom.³⁰ In this materialistic world - Dharamakeshtra of ours the wisdom has been eclipsed. Wicked has overshadowed the wise. Exploitation is writ large. The benefits bestowed by Nature upon the humanity, have been cornered by a few wicked and the development is uneven. They term themselves as developed and rest as under-developed and developing. The developed of yester years are licking the feet of so called developed of today. They are not permitting to share the bounty of the nature with the rest. The developed nations of today ignore that this world is illusory. We have the story of ancient Chinese sage who said: I yesterday dreamt that I was a butterfly, now I do not know whether I am butterfly dreaming that I am a man or I am really a man dreaming that I am

butterfly. Similarly in our scriptures we have the story of King Janaka who dreamt that he was a victim in a famine - stricken land, and woke up from his siesta to enquire very anxiously as to whether he was in fact the dreamer awakening to the kingship of the waking-State, or that he was in fact still the poor wretch, dreaming that he was Janaka.³¹ The developed must understand such illusory state of the world. In the opinion of the seers, who have thought over the matter and analysed the objects of the world, in the true spirit of complete detachment from it, the objects perceived are all false and illusory.³²

In this Dharamkeshtra - Lord Krishna himself is the actor; Arjuna and Duryodhana are also actors; so are the blind Dharitarashtra and the observant Sanjaya. Each acts his part but the situation is baffling. The two Chief characters are Arjuna and Krishna. Arjuna may be compared to this world of ours - confused as to its dharma-duty, dejected because the family is divided, but compelled to take the field of duty, dharamakshetra. And the parthasarthi - the charioteer, of course is Krishna may be manifested in educators, guides, scholars and philosophers - who too to the common man appear to be confused. These two figures of Krishna and Arjuna are symbols - One the end and summation of human evolution, Man become God; and Second is the symbol of Man seeking wisdom which would make him God.³³ The endless struggle between reasons and emotion continues, at every moment of human life. The selfless detached action is the only way out to this dilemma. To pursue this tedious path of selfless - Karma, one needs to attain a degree of wisdom. It is the wisdom that can bring its light into any problem and resolve it in terms of the Eternal Truth.³⁴

The rich capitalist of today could not flourish if the labourers did not exist to be exploited. The seer and sage

come to us at intervals to save the exploited from exploiters. Thus a Mighty Thinker, a Mighty Compassionator, like Buddha, arises in the world when "adharma or unrighteousness decays." But while a Buddha incarnates among men at long intervals, Yuge Yuge, from age to age, there are lesser potencies, spiritual stalwarts all the same, who arise by reason of their own spiritual fervour. The divinity within man asserts itself, and in the very process of reincarnation, i.e., evolution of the soul through many lives, come to fruition as that of His Holiness the fourteenth Dalai Lama.

The Nobel Prize Winner, His Holiness, the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, the Tibetan's Leader, a man of vision is a Statesman. The people of Tibet are wise and undoubtedly the Tibet is a home of wisdom. Their wisdom is love. For Plato, the philosophy is the kind of vision, the "Vision of Truth," it is not purely intellectual, it is not merely wisdom, but love of wisdom.³⁵ The truth is on their side. Tibetans have during last four decades of their peaceful and non-violent struggle for freedom achieved a limited success. They have won many battles and have succeeded to create a public opinion throughout the world for their cause. But these wisemen of Tibet are yet to prove and establish that they are also worldly wise. They are yet to win many more battles to win the ultimate war - the complete independence, in consonance with 1912 treaty executed between Tibetans and Chinese.

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CHAPTER THREE

CONTENTMENT : NATURE'S GIFT TO TIBETANS

Andre Migot a French traveller says that Tibet is like no other country in the world; for those who do not know it, it is impossible to form a just conception of its grandeur of the wild immensity, of its desolate uplands, its mountain peaks, its tremendous gorges. Apart from a few populated valleys, it is a vacuum, a loss on the earth's crust where man, encompassed by the hostile forces of nature, is a cipher.¹ Tibet is one of the world's most neglected and least known nations, but it assumes a very important position in the international environmental and geographical equations because of its huge land mass, strategic location and altitude. It is the nature which meets not only the material requirements but also the spiritual needs of Tibetans. An average Tibetan finds contemplative concentration, with its parallel exclusion of irrelevant thinking, easy: and every Tibetan seems to have a nomadic streak in him and is never happier than when moving, on pony back or, if he is a poor man, on foot through an unpeopled countryside in close communion with untamed nature; rapid travel would be no travel as far as this quality of experience is concerned. This helps to foster the habit of inward recollection as well as that sense of kinship with animals, birds and trees which is so deeply rooted in the Tibetan soul and its culture.² The people's culture does not disregard that nature can better

be under-stood in the context of Tibet, its environment and the Tibetans. Rather culture enhances those elements in nature which are helpful in the universe, and makes it fuller and richer, and curbs other elements which obstructs life.³ We are aware that geographically the mountains and forests, the deserts and fields of a country, are the greatest benefactors of the land. They are the most insentient, seemingly doing nothing and yet blessing the entire generation silently, uninterruptedly and continuously.⁴ Nature due to its environment blessed the Tibetans with contentment. We desire contentment with a view to be happy. If the body is content, we may simply ignore it but not in the case of mind. The mind resists on being ignored and needs mental peace. The peace of mind leads to contentment and it is the calm and serene atmosphere which bestows mental peace. The greatest degree of inner tranquility comes from the development of love and compassion. Live and let live is the fundamental law of nature.

The people of faith with their mind wholly fixed in Him, their lives surrendered to Him and their senses completely absorbed in Him, enlightening one another, ever remain contented. They are satisfied and delighted. Such seekers on the "path of discrimination" will come to experience and live a sense of "CONTENTMENT AND DELIGHT."⁵ Perhaps such a description has been given keeping in view the Tibetans.

Traditional Tibetan economic and religious value systems led to the evolution of successful environmental protection practices. Religion lies deep down in the hearts of the Tibetans, and not least among the shepherds, who spend their lives, in calm and storm, wandering over the wide open spaces of Tibetan hills.⁶ Religion is the strongest of all influences on the minds of Tibetan people. Impossible happened in Tibet, as the influence of Buddhism grew there. Previously they had organised

war, raiding and conquering China etc. then it ceased. It was the new religion from India that made the change of heart possible bringing new peace. Buddhism forbids the taking of life. And the Tibetans believe in their religion.⁷ Their belief in the Buddhist teaching of Right to Livelihood stresses the importance of "contentment" and discourages over-consumption. It also frowns upon over-exploitation of the earth's natural resources as this is perceived to harm other living beings and their habit. As early as 1642, the Fifth Dalai Lama issued a Decree for the Protection of Animals and the Environment. Since then, such decrees have been issued annually.⁸

Tibetans for centuries lived on their sparsely populated plateau in harmony with nature. Respect for all forms of life and for nature is a basic tenet of Buddhism, and in Tibet's plateau maintenance of the delicate ecological balance is vital for the survival of animal, plant and human life.⁹ Tibetans like Red Indians lived for centuries in harmony with the land and professed a philosophy that allowed each part of nature and animals their rightful place as cosharers of the world-philosophy which was common to the inhabitants of pre-Aryan India and the people of pre-Christian Britain. In fact all the 'earth' religions with their many gods and many paths to salvation have repeatedly and forcefully emphasised the necessity for considering each ant, each leaf, each drop of rain, each bird and animal as holy. Then came "development" and new religions that insisted that only man had feelings and a soul, and everything else on the planet was created for his use. We can see the result now - a dying planet ringing with the cries of millions of creatures.¹⁰

The goal of life, without exception, seems to be the quest after its meaning. Man is not happy otherwise and happiness is a rare commodity today, because the human rights are crushed by environment outside and conditions within. So long as humans have not gained control over

both the external environment and internal happenings within, there cannot be peace and contentment. Tenzin Gyatso the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, explains that: The very purpose of life is to know it. Every human being wants happiness and does not want suffering. Neither social conditioning nor education nor ideology affect this. From the very core of our being, we simply desire contentment, mental peace and then face the task of making life meaningful for ourselves.¹¹ It is a universal truth that all of us wish to feel the peace of contentment, the power of cooperation, the uplift of compassion. However, compassion is no attribute. It is the law of Laws - eternal Harmony. Alaya itself is a shoreless universal essence, the light of everlasting right, and fitness of all things, the law of love eternal. But mere desire and wish will not do. All of us suffer from weaknesses and vices, peace and contentment comes from burning wish within for the common good and development of altruism.¹² H.P. Blavatsky sums up the ideal of social service and practice of altruism: He who does not practise Altruism; he who is not prepared to share his last morsel with a weaker or poorer than himself; he who neglects to help his brother man of whatever race, nation, or creed, and who turns a deaf ear to the cry of Human misery; he who hears an innocent person slandered, whether a brother or not, and does not undertake his defence as he would undertake his own is no human being.¹³ Such a human-being can never be at peace and have happiness. Bertrand Russel in "Western Philosophical Thought", comments on Aristotle Ethics: Happiness lies in virtuous activity, and perfect happiness lies in the best activity, which is contemplative. Contemplation is preferable to war or politics or any other practical career, because it allows leisure, and leisure is essential to happiness; the supreme happiness is in the exercise of reason, for reason, more than anything

else, is man. Man cannot be wholly contemplative, but in so far as he is so he shares in the divine life. "The activity of God, which surpasses all others in blessedness, must be contemplative." Of all human beings, the philosopher is the most godlike in his activity, and therefore best and the happiest.¹⁴

There is direct nexus between human happiness and tranquility in nature. Jawahar Lal Nehru repeatedly said: The true joy in life is to ally oneself to a great purpose, to throw oneself into its heart and soul, to forget about one's own little self for the realisation of that purpose; and the purpose being to bring happiness to all, in which, ultimately lies one's own happiness and that appears to be co-related with environment and the nature.¹⁵

On the same wave length, His Holiness Dalai Lama says: "Each of us must learn to work not just for oneself, one's own family or one's nation, but for the benefit of all humankind. Universal responsibility is the key to human survival. It is the best foundation for world peace. This need for cooperation can only strengthen humankind, because it helps us to recognize that the most secure foundation for a new world order is not simply broader political and economic alliances, but each individual's genuine practice of love and compassion. These qualities are the ultimate source of human happiness, and our need for them lies at the very core of our being. The practice of compassion is not idealistic, but the most effective way to pursue the best interests of others as well as our own. The more we become interdependent the more it is in our own interest to ensure the well being of others."¹⁶

Massacre near Tianmen square on demonstrating students in 1989 symbolises the brutality of China's ways. It was Beijing's just a brief awful moment, compared with on-going jailing of innocents, suppression of Tibet's liberation movement by violence the nation wide repression

of religion and forcible abortions and sterilisation as reported recently in *Newyork Times*.¹⁷

The Chinese occupation of Tibet has been characterised by systematic and gross violations of human rights. This has resulted in the death of over 1.2 million Tibetans (one-sixth of the population) between 1951 and 1979, and exile of some 80,000.¹⁸ The Chinese occupation and militarisation of Tibet, the large influx of Chinese settlers and the colonial exploitation of Tibet's natural resources in total disregard of environmental consequences is having devastating effects on the environment. Tibet has lost most of its rich forests, causing alarming desertification of vast areas, degradation of grasslands or their conversion into agriculture for Chinese settlers. This has also caused irreparable damage to many of Tibet's precious nomadic pasture lands. Nuclear testing and weapons production, uranium mining, and dumping of hazardous waste is having predictably dangerous effects on human and animal life in some parts of Tibet.¹⁹

To-day, the Tibetans are surrounded by troubles on all sides and are in a miserable condition especially in their Homeland Tibet. They are aggrieved but still are awaiting with patience to achieve freedom and independence by non-violence and peaceful means is indicative of their instinct of contentment.

John H. Leeming in his 'Foreword' to 'Philosophy of the Masters' says: Philosophy has been defined as a study to determine the nature of man and his relationship to the universe - both material and spiritual, in order to understand the origin and purpose of Life. The goal of such a study is to establish from this understanding a set of rules of behaviour for what we must do and must not do in order to achieve the purpose of life.²⁰ To ensure the happiness of others and feel happy and contented with it perhaps may be the goal of life.

Contentment of course means satisfaction, agreement, being contented with what one has and being satisfied with it. If one does not gain his object in spite of effort, or succeeds to a very small extent only, and yet remains calm and does not feel troubled in his mind, he is said to have contentment. When one is surrounded by troubles on all sides, is not honoured by anyone, is talked ill of by everyone and is faced with defeat on all sides, but does not feel aggrieved by the thought that others are happy, then it is a sign of contentment.²¹ It would, however, be a mistake to infer from all this that contentment means idleness or slackness. To seem contented and to grieve in secret and to feel jealous is to show oneself in different colours and to deceive the public. A contented person on getting nothing even after making efforts does not blame the Master or the Lord. He tries seriously to accomplish the task. Failure or success leave him unaffected.²² Only a contented person can put in ceaseless efforts for serving others. He observes truth, never attempts evil and does good actions and earns merits.²³ If one is poor while doing meritorious deeds and the Lord has given him contentment, he is really rich. A rich man without contentment is a beggar and very poor, for the hunger of such a man would not be satisfied even if he got all the good things of the world, as none can be satisfied without contentment. One should be content with what he gets from his meritorious deeds. One should patiently attend to his duty. Sheikh Farid says that contentment naturally makes a man a true creature of the Lord, and grows into an ocean. All desires vanish on getting the wealth of contentment.²⁴

In the Mahabharata Bishma describes to Yudhishthira the characteristics of the people blessed with contentment in whose company one loses the fear of life and death and gain salvation: ".....They love or hate no one. The virtuous life is dear to them. Their senses are under

control. They regard joy and sorrow alike. They are truthful and benevolent. They accept no charity from others, while they are themselves charitably disposed. They serve their guests. They afford comfort to everybody. They help everybody. They are courageous. They follow the path of Truth. They are the friend of all, and in time of need are prepared to sacrifice everything. They remain steadfast on the path of Truth. Their conduct and bearing are in accordance with the tenets of their religion. They talk ill of no Saint nor Seer. They are a menace to none, nor are they frightening. They live a noble life with determination, and bear a feeling of non-violence (absence of hatred) towards all. They are free from lust, anger, attachment and ego. They do their duty and follow religion for its own sake, and not for securing fame and wealth. They are naturally inclined towards religion. Just as they have their daily bath, eat their daily food and satisfy other physical needs, so also is religion part and parcel of their daily life. They have no fear, sorrow or ire. They are truthful and honest. They do not rejoice over gains, nor do they grieve over losses. They are of even temperament and maintain their equanimity under all conditions. The pairs of opposites such as gain and loss, joy and sorrow, love and hatred, life and death, fail to perturb their mind. They are firm and strong in their resolve. They attain a high state and tread the path of Truth with great resolution. Undoubtedly, contentment and inner joy gurgle up from the bosoms of an individual, only if he has trained his mind to function under a well disciplined self-control."²⁶ Swami Chinmayananda in his commentary on Geeta says: "He who is self-controlled individual and who has brought all his sense appetits under perfect control, and renounces all his ego-centric and desire-prompted actions, comes to experience and live in a nameless joy, contentment and peace which well up from the very depths within him. He thus remains contented and happy in the city-of-nine-gates."²⁷

The peace and tranquility is not possible in an atmosphere when environment is upset. Baroness Strange, in the British House of Lords on May 12, 1993 spoke about the destruction of Tibetan environment. She said, "One of the many upsetting things about the Chinese occupation of Tibet is the degradation of the environment....." As a result also the climate is changing and becoming drier; lack of oxygen which used to be released by the trees is leading to a thinness in the Ozone Layer.²⁸ One may not succeed in deriving solace and contentment from nature-when nature itself has been divested of peace. The people of Tibet have displayed a remarkable patience in their efforts to go back to the lap of the mother nature to which they belong with their dedication to the faith, comitment to the cause, and the treasure of contentment and with a hope that truth will triumph over brute persecution in their Homeland. Basically Tibetans are guided by spiritualism which alone will steer clear them to the long cherished goal of independence, under the leadership of His Holiness Dalai Lama, patron-Saint.

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CHAPTER FOUR

THE DALAI LAMA : AN EMBODIMENT OF FAITH

Tibet is one of the world's most neglected and least known nations, but it assumes a very important position in the international environmental and geo-political equations because of its huge landmass, strategic location and altitude. Until the early twentieth century, Tibet was an isolated society with very little contact with the outside world.

Buddhism, the state religion, permeated every aspect of life. Religious endeavours were the most significant pursuits of life. Monasteries, which were generally large universities with many colleges and Institutes, were the main institutions of formal learning. Education was steeped in religious doctrine so that the young would be nurtured in their faith.¹ [The species of wisdom that come from faith, of which the Hebrew Bible mandates: "O thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt?"² Smauel Butler says: one can do very little with faith, but can do nothing without it. On the same wave length, Swami Ram Tirath elaborates: Without keeping alive the flame of faith and torch of burning jnanam in one's breast, one cannot accomplish anything, cannot advance a single step.³ It is a fact that by any idea when entertained powerfully and pursued sincerely with all faith and devotion, man can achieve stupendous results "As you think so you become", is the eternal law of life.⁴ Such is the importance of faith.

Cicero says : A man of courage is also full of faith. But the Buddhist philosophers caution: "Honour thine own faith and do not slander that of others."⁵ With a view to reduce tensions and bring peace it was not scientific to tell the people to practise and follow one religion as all the religions teach about the development of human being. Therefore, there should not be any difference between the faiths.⁶ Martin Luther experienced and grasped the connection between the Justice of God and the statement that "The just shall live by his faith", and concluded that the justice of God is that righteousness by which through grace and sheer mercy God justifies us through faith. Man does not earn grace through his actions; God freely gives it to him, once he has faith..... The only key to salvation is faith-unshakable confidence in God's intention to save mankind.⁷ However, it is not the faith in blindness of ignorant belief and superstition, but faith which is enlightened because it arises from inner conviction based on knowledge.⁸

Faith is the very basis of teachings of any of scriptures. Faith is foundation for development of spirit. Faith in the existence of spirit, faith in the possibility and the capacity of the human soul to enjoy unitive experience with spirit, emphasis on intense practice of Yoga in order to have that experience and retain the spiritual poise, transformation and sublimation of life and conduct in the light of spiritual experience, are the basic elements of teaching of the Upanishads and Gita.⁹ Yoga is in essence a technique which helps the individual to still the mind and make it a fit receptacle for the spirit by destroying all modifications of the chitta.¹⁰ The Yogis are the wise and the wisdom resides in Yogis-the men of faith.] १३।

The Dalai Lama, Tibet's roving symbol of independence, the temporal and religious head of Tibetans, is the 14th incarnation of Lord Buddha-Gautama and the man of faith, who had the revelation, that the source of man's

sufferings and the way to eradicate that pain and bring the death-rebirth cycle to a close; is desire. Desire/ambition for wealth, luxury, possessions and power was at the root of man's pain. For desire led to all manner of unethical deeds and thoughts. The evil done in one's life is paid for in the next. Only by over-coming desire-that is, selfishness-could man eradicate evil from his nature, and only when man lived a life that was totally blameless in as well as in deed could he be spared the agonies of rebirth and achieve nirvana.¹¹ For Lord Buddha, service to humanity was more important than one's entering into nirvana-mukti when he said: "Till there exists a single human being in this world even with a trace of suffering, I shall endeavour to remove it. My nirvana will have to wait till then."¹² The service of the mankind is to continue till the last tear is wiped, because He is omnipresent and the light of Christ, of Buddha and of Krishna dwells even in the heart of prostitute and pauper.¹³ The Dalai Lama, the God-king of Tibet is to abide and follow the guidelines as conveyed by means of Precious Garlands of Advice for the king by the great teacher, the superior, Nagarjuna, which doctrines were not taught merely to help the kings, but with the wish in any way to help other sentient beings.¹⁴ The advice at the end ordains :¹⁵

O King, for you it would be right
Each day to think of this advice
So that you and others may achieve
Complete and perfect enlightenment.
For the sake of enlightenment the diligent should
always apply
Themselves to ethics, patience, non-jealously and
non-miserliness;
Always respect a superior teacher and help
Altruistically without hope (of reward) those bereft
of wealth,

Always remain with superior people, leaving
The non-superior and maintaining throughly the
doctrine.

Undoubtedly, from the time of the seventh-century Tibetan Emperor Soutsen Gampo, many Tibetan rulers issued codes based on the Buddhist principle of "Ten virtues of the Dharma". The essence of this was that the rulers should act as parents to their subjects¹⁶ including the prisoners.

Just as unworthy sons are punished
out of a wish to make them worthy,
So punishment should be enforced with Compassion
And not through hatred or desire for wealth.¹⁷

Dharma simply means the Law. One cannot worship it, but can understand it. One can live it, but cannot worship it. This is the great contribution of Buddha to the world: religion, in his understanding, is law. One has to live it. One has to live according to the law, according to the norm of universe. Whenever one goes against it, one is in misery, and whenever one is in tune with it, he is in bliss¹⁸. Buddhism flourished in Tibet in the seventh century. Receiving royal patronage, it spread throughout Tibet. With assumption of power by the Dalai Lamas from 1642 onwards, the era of "Harmonious blend of religion and politics" was established in Tibet. Since then, for three-and-a half centuries, fourteen successive Dalai Lamas have been the spiritual and temporal rulers of Tibet. Buddhism has not been a mere system of belief to the Tibetans, it encompasses the entirety of their culture and civilisation and constitutes the very essence of their lives. Buddhism permeated the daily lives of the Tibetan People and formed the social fabric connecting them to the land.¹⁹ Of all the bonds which defined Tibetans as a people and as a nation, religion was undoubtedly the strongest. Tibetan national identity became

indistinguishable from its religion.²⁰ To this day Buddhism has been very much a way of life, a way that can be practised by all, rich or poor, regardless of their station in life.²¹

Dalai Lama - The God King of Tibet and Head of Tibetan Government, bore all the outwards signs of being political was in effect religious, and that the loyalty of the Tibetan people was not mere political allegiance, but an act of faith, fervent and unbreakable.²² Some of the Dalai Lamas died when they were young and under mysterious circumstances. The eighth, Gyampale Gyasto died when he was in his thirties, Lungtog Gyasto when he was eleven, Tsultrin Gyasto at eighteen, Khadrup Gyasto when he was eighteen also, and Krinla Gyasto at about the same age. The circumstances are such that it is very likely some, if not all, were poisoned by the Chinese for not being manageable²³. They fully knew the vulnerability of the Tibetans. If the Institution of Dalai Lama is destroyed, they will succeed in destroying the Tibetan people. To Tibetans the duty of the Rinpoche is above everything else, the spiritual well-being of Tibetan people. This is the reason that the Tibetans are waging their independence movement with the slogan "Long live Dalai Lama." The Tibetan people have succeeded in their efforts to a great extent as their leader Dalai Lama is loved and respected world-wide as a man of peace. As spiritual and political leader of the Tibetan people, he has consistently advocated policies of non-violence, even in the face of great aggression-an approach that in 1989, won him and the Tibetan people the coveted Noble Peace Prize. The Tibetan people cannot be destroyed till their faith in Dalai Lama and the Institution of the Dalai Lama continues burning in their hearts.

Born Tenzin Gyasto, then discovered at the age of two by high Lamas, in accordance with Tibetan custom, was recognised by Buddhist holy men as the incarnation of the 13th Dalai Lama and taken from his peasant

parents to rule Tibet as temporal and spiritual head.²⁴ His Holiness, the 14th in a line of God-Kings who have ruled Tibet since 1642,²⁵ is a King without a throne, a god without shrine, but still regarded as spiritual head.²⁶ Millions worship him as the embodiment of Lord Buddha and the 14th incarnation of Lord Avalokiteshvara-Himself.²⁷ His Holiness, the Dalai Lama, the "Wish-fulfilling Gem", describes the phenomenon of death from the point of view of a man who has already expired thirteen times, Life is impermanent, but the grave holds no terrors.²⁸ The 14th Dalai Lama ascended to the throne in the holy city of Lhasa in 1940. Upon his initiation into mysteries of Tibetan Buddhism, he took the name Getsen Ng Wang Lebsang Tenzin Gyasto Sisunwangyur Tshungpa Mapai Dhepal Sangpo-which roughly translates as "The holy one, the gentle glory, powerful in speech, pure in mind, of divine wisdom, holding the faith ocean-wide."²⁹ Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh explains that it is trust, it is faith and certainty not the belief. Because when one believes in something, the doubt still persists. Belief never destroy it as both the belief and doubt are in the head. However, faith is of the heart, as it knows how to trust; Faith is not against doubt, faith is absence of doubt.³⁰

Tibetan's believers in Buddhism these days scattered across the planet, have an opportunity to take Buddhism-a faith-everywhere throughout the world. Luckily the Tibetan refugees know all the world languages. But faith alone is not enough unless it is accompanied by knowledge of the Lord Buddha teachings. This is the reason that His Holiness exhorts Tibetans to study the eternal truths that Buddha had taught and to apply such truths in their daily life. Saints emphasise: Practise truth, lead a life of virtue: Guru Nanak Dev says that truth is the highest virtue, but higher still is truthful living. His Holiness reminds what the Lord Buddha said long ago: "Between the man who conquers ten thousand men and a man

who conquers himself-the latter is the greater of the two."³¹

Formerly Tibet was a country where, though simple living was a rule, serious shortages of necessities had been unknown: thus, one of the most contended portions of the world has been reduced to misery on communist China's taking over of Tibet with many of its people, choosing exile rather than remain in their own homes under conditions where no man, and especially young person, is any longer allowed to call his mind his own.³² The Tibetan refugees are settled and have taken refuge almost in all the countries of the world. But simply taking refuge is not sufficient. His Holiness exhorts them to go for refuge to the Buddha, the Fully-Enlightened One, who has guided all beings by expounding to them the pure, true teachings of the Dharma, which is the fruit of the supreme wisdom derived from His own direct experience. He further guides them to go for refuge to the Dharma, which affords full protection from all suffering and leads to true happiness; for the Dharma cannotes the elimination of all evils and the completion of all virtues as a result of righteous thought and action functioning through body, speech and mind. He persuades them to go for refuge to the Sangha, the sacred community whose feet are firmly set upon the path. Upon them he, His Holiness the Dalai Lama places his unswerving reliance for the assistance of which he stands in need.³³

In his effort to build a strong community in exile as no early return to Tibet was in a sight, the Dalai Lama accepted the Government of India's offer in 1960, to provide him a permanent accommodation in Dharamsala, which later became the centre for Tibetan Government-in-Exile and many other social and economic Tibetan Institutions.³⁴ Tibetan refugee figure is now estimated at around 1.2 Lakh and it still increasing. Since migration, the Tibetan have shown a foresight in setting up institutions

designed to protect Tibet's art and culture; tradition and practice; religion and beliefs; spiritual and temporal heritage; and above all the unique form of government. Tibetan³⁵ refugees in U.S.A. and elsewhere have launched a service called "M Club" to help single Tibetan to get married. The Institution follows the concern expressed by Tibetan Women's Association about maintaining relationships and marriage among Tibetan; and His Holiness's advice to Tibetan Women is that "whenever possible they should marry Tibetan men so that the children they bear would be Tibetans too." "M Club" is one of the institutions striving to keep alive the Tibetan life in exile. With their exile well into its fourth decade, the task of keeping the Tibetan ethos alive is becoming ever Challenging for the concerned hierarchy.³⁶

425 It is said that [faith moves mountains. Not blind faith steeped in ignorance and superstitions but enlightened and unshakable faith, is the essence of foundation of teachings of all the religions of the world. Truly, has it been described to be the golden key that inspires in the heart of the man a shining confidence in God's mercy to save the mankind.] It is the faith in the Lord Buddha and his incarnation on earth, the Dalai Lama, that is keeping the Tibetans religion, culture and heritage alive, throughout the length and breadth of the world wherever under the stress of historical circumstances they have to take refuge almost four decades ago. The tradition of unity of temporal and spiritual power in the Dalai Lama is still as strong as ever. This explains the sincerity of determination to gain independence for their country under the guidance and leadership of their God King, The Dalai Lama.

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CHAPTER FIVE

INDO-TIBETAN CULTURAL AFFINITY

Culturally and religiously the mind of the peoples of Tibet and India has always been working alike. Philosophical and mythological heritage of both is almost the same. Buddhism faded from India, but remained in Tibet.¹ When the Moghuls invaded India, sacking and pillaging temples and monasteries, a great deal of the original Buddhist literature was lost or destroyed. By then, however, a large amount of it had already been copied and was safely preserved in the monasteries of Tibet.² Buddhism has continued to be a living reality in the inner Western Himalayan region since its inception. In India, the Buddhist heritage is now available only in the monasteries and the ancient monuments of this region. Their conservation in the natural setting of Tibet, their systematic tabulation and revaluation can alone testify to the powerful cultural links that existed between the Buddhist India and the Tibetan world.³ Culture based on Buddhism influences and permeates every aspect of Tibetan life. The history of Buddhism in Tibet relates back to the seventh eighth century A.D. when it was introduced to Tibet. The founder of Buddhism was historic figure, Siddhartha, who came to be recognised as the Buddha Shakyamuni. Buddha 'the Awakened' who was born more than 2500 years ago and who won victory over ignorance and attained Enlightenment, his teachings are now known as the Dharma, or Buddhism.⁴ Mahatma

Gandhi once wrote to Dalai Lama saying that Indian culture and Tibetan culture are different branches of the same Bodhi Tree-Buddhism.⁵

Some decades ago, Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India, told at a press conference on April 5, 1959: "Tibet affects some deeper chords in our hearts. Tibet, culturally speaking is an off-shoot of India. That is to say-of Buddhism, not of India politically.....⁶ The Buddhist teaching that spread to Tibet is just the stainless teaching of India and nothing else. The Tibetan neither altered it nor mixed it with another religion.⁷ The monastic tradition of Buddhism is probably the oldest in the world, and has certainly been the most wide spread, both geographically and culturally. Buddhism and more particularly Lord Buddha had penetrated the Indian mind very deeply; his images had covered thousands of pillars, walls, and gates of so many monasteries all over the country; his teachings had been popularized and broadcast through an almost inexhaustible mine of Pali and Sanskrit literatures, many emperors and subtle thinkers had espoused the cause of his rational and humanitarian mission, and his praise had been sung by numerous Indians for centuries; he was too great to be neglected.⁸ Although by the medieval period the Buddhist monastic order had all but disappeared from India, by that time it had been established in almost every other part of Asia.⁹ From Tibet Buddhism has penetrated deep into the far-East and the North, i.e., towards China and Japan and made firm base in Mangolia. Mangolia has the singular distinction of one half of the country being under Soviet dominion for 60 years and the half under Chinese Communist domination for 35 years is still Buddhist, and has been ever since the Tibetans converted Kublai Khan, putting an end to the pillage with which the Mangols had been synonymous. The Mangols in turn conferred on Tibet's greatest teacher the title of Dalai

Lama, meaning 'Ocean of Wisdom'. Mangols remain Buddhist of this day.¹⁰ Though Buddhism is in danger of extinction in Tibet.

The great places of pilgrimage for Tibetans are all in India, Varanasi, Gaya, Sanchi, Sarnath, Rewalsar, etc. It is a wish of every Tibetan to be able to go one day on a pilgrimage to India. For Tibetans it has always been the holy land. The fourteenth Dalai Lama repeatedly says: "For us India is Arya bhumi, the land of the holy. India has better claim on Tibet than China, whose influence was only slight."¹¹ The help provided and the refuge given by India has been appreciated by Tibetans. Dalai Lama writes in his biography "Freedom in Exile" that he looks towards India as a spiritual mentor and often compares the relationship between India and Tibet with that between a teacher and a pupil.

India is the birth place of the founder of Buddhist culture and the source of the wisdom brought to mountains hundreds of years ago by Indian Saints and Seers, asserts His Holiness the Dalai Lama.¹² The relationship between the two countries India and Tibet goes very deep. Many Indians consider Tibet to be a manifestation of Heaven on Earth—a land of Gods and holy places. Mansarover and Kailas, the dream of Indian Yogis, are in Tibet. Both Mount Kailas and Lake Mansarover in South and South-Western Tibet respectively, are important places of pilgrimage to devout Indians. Similarly, Tibetans consider India to be Aryabhumi, the land of the Holy.¹³ Although Kailas and Mansarover have been sacred to Buddhists and Hindus for centuries, they were also sacred place of worship for the original believers in pre-Buddhist faith called Bon. Tibet looked to India rather than China for spiritual and intellectual guidance which was most important in one respect. North India was the centre of a flourishing school of tantricism a school that believed rather like the Bon that man could develop supernatural

powers by proper discipline.¹⁴ The believers in Bon religion looked upon Kailas as its Mecca where Lord Shenrab descended. There are many legends of epic struggles between Buddhist and Bonpos for possession of Kailas but the best known is that of Saint Milarepa's magic contest with Naro Bon Chon.¹⁵ Swami Pranānanda recalling his close association with Kailas, wrote "In the surrounding of the holy Kailas and Mansarover even the most wandering mind-to whatever religion he may belong-becomes concentrated and irresistibly unknowing and unconsciously feels the divine presence that seems hidden behind the apparently vast universe. The perpetual snowclad peak of the holy Kailas of hoary antiquity and celebrating, the spotless design of nature's art, and the most bewitching and over-powering beauty, has a vibration of the supreme order from the spiritual point of view.¹⁶ Heinrich Harrer a German mountaineer and prisoner of war describes his experience of the Mansarover: "Mountaineers were more strongly attracted to the majestic Gurla Mandhata, mirrored in the waters of the lake Mansarover, then by the sacred Mountain. We feasted our eyes on the indescribably beautiful picture of this tremendous mountain, which seemed to grow out of the lake. This is certainly one of the loveliest spots on earth. The lake is held to be sacred and round it one finds many small monasteries in which the pilgrims lodge and perform their devotions. Many pilgrims creep round the lake on their hands and knees and carry home jars of the holy water."¹⁷

Buddhist consider Kailas as the centre of the cosmic universe inhabited by the Buddha and a retinue of five hundred Bodhisattvas with tantric deity. It is also the seat of female deity Vajra Varahli, Samvaras's spiritual consort. Hindus look upon Kailas as the abode of Lord Shiva and his consort Parvati. Because of his strongly phallic form, serious Shiva devotees identify it with

Lingam. The Jains called Kailas Astapada where the first Tirthankara Rishabha attained Moksha. In the final analysis Kailas is to Buddhists and Hindus, what Rome is to Catholic Christians, what Mecca is to Mommendans, and what Jerusalem is to the Jews.¹⁸ For millions Mount is Mount Meru, the invisible yet ineffable centre of all according to Buddhist and Hindu concepts: and Manasarovar lake (14,950 ft.), reputed to be the highest fresh water lake is the ultimate source of the great rivers of India which are said to be flowing from the mouths of animals and thereby regarded as part of a universal mandala with Kailas at the centre.¹⁹ The parikrama or circumambulation route (55 km) was related with powerful symbolism and auspicious association like foot-prints of the Buddha and that of other religious luminaries, caves where great yogis had lived and pursued their austerities, and tortuous rocks where virtue could be put to test. To the Tibetans the parikrama is a terrestrial projection of the cosmic mandala, each circuit a single turn of the wheel of life, a progress through life to death and thence to rebirth.²⁰ In the centre of Mansarovar or 'Tso Mapham' dwells a God in human form who inhabits a tent composed of turquoise and all kinds of precious stones. If any one washes oneself once in the lake he is spiritually cleansed. The sins of his forefathers are forgiven, and their souls are relieved from purgatorial fires. That Mount Kailas and Mansarovar are realms of God whose sanctity can not be frivolously discredited is borne by the fact that none has so far set his foot on top of Kailas or sailed across the heart of Mansarovar.²¹

Kailas, sheathed in white rime of frozen snow and ice, more than any other place on earth to Indians. Kailas is most bewitching, its beauty is over-powering and from a spiritual point of view, it possesses a subtle magnetic vibration of a supremely high order. The resplendent rays of the warming sun add a mystic charm

to Mansarover lake which is already mysteriously charming in itself. The spiritual vibrations emanating from it enrapture anyone and lull the mind into sublime serenity.²²

Among Tibetans, Mandi in Himachal Pradesh is known by the name of Zahore, and it has an interesting association with the great Buddhist teacher and missionary, Padma Sambhava (C.A.D. 750-800), for it was from Zahore-Mandi that he went at the request of the Tibetan King, Srong Ide letzan, to preach the doctrines of Buddhism in Tibet. Many Tibetans are said to come on pilgrimage from Tibet every year in winter to holy lake of Rewalsar in Mandi, which they call Padmacan, and the spirit of the Saint is believed to reside on the floating islands in the lake and is worshipped by them. The Hindus look upon Rewalsar as the abode of Lomasa Rishi, whom they in all probability identify with Padma Sambhava²³. Lomash, though, is considered to be a separate Rishi, according to the Indian mythology who lived an extremely long life as per the bliss allowed to him by Lord Brahma after his successful meditation.

Padma Sambhava established the first monasteries in Tibet, brought Buddhism and taught the doctrine. He is believed to have meditated at the junction of the river Kulha Shungchu and Tsewa Auchu, a hermitage supported on red pillars seemed to grow out of rock, built over one of the apostles of Tibet. There are great many holy mountains in Tibet where Guru Padma Sambhava used to meditate in the caves and Tibetans often visit the places as hermits and pilgrims to practice meditation.²⁴ Padma Sambhava gave emotionally, the blessings to Tibetans saying: "The people may forget me, but I shall not forget them; my eternal compassion is always with them."²⁵

Indrabodhi or Indrabhuti's text entitled "Vajrayana Mullangapatti desna" translated in English as confessions

of errors in the roots and branches of the Vajragana is considered to be the oldest treatise on Vajrayana, so important a branch of spiritual practices in Tibet. Nagarjuna (KLUS grub) and Padamsambhava are also considered his intellectual inspirers but he is ascribed the roles of a teacher to Nagarjuna and a foster parent to Padamsambhava. Nying ma and bka brgyud (pro Kagyud) lineages of practices are greatly influenced by Indrabhuti's contributions and his importance exceeds even the 84 Mahasiddhas or grub chen. Aryadeva (2nd-3rd A.D.) is considered one of the six ornaments (rgyan drug) of Mahayana Buddhism. According to legends, Guru Padamsambhava, who married Mandarva, the daughter of Zahore king belonged to Rewalsar in Mandi district and went to preach Buddhism in Tibet after meditating in Rewalsar-Mandi. Tibetan Tantric tradition, though influenced by Bon and Chinese Systems has much to owe to Indian Tantric thought and philosophy. Tibetan sacred book, the kangyur, consists of one hundred and eight volumes having a total of forty-five thousand pages. The figure one hundred and eight is sacred one for Tibetans, and one comes across it again and again in the life of any pious Tibetan and Indian.²⁶ Tibetan system of Yoga, Japa and Tantra are not only influenced by Indian systems but have their roots in Indian Traditions. The theory of karma has been practised by Tibetan spiritualists and thinkers. Karma literally means "action". In Buddhist parlance this word usually refers to "action and its concordant reaction", cause of successive rebirth in ever varying states of existence, according to the merit or demerit thus incurred. Karma may be said to correspond to the "immanent Justice" of the universe. Sufference is the recurrent price of this process. Buddhahood is deliverence therefrom through an understanding of the real nature of things, including that of the karmic process itself.²⁷ Buddhist teaching is that one is his own master,

everything depends on oneself, meaning that pleasure and pain arise from virtuous and within oneself. Self-examination is the most important, and thus the Buddhist theory of self-responsibility is useful as it entails self-examination and self-control in consideration of one's own and other's interests.²⁸ The efforts of Karma may be very old indeed. We are suffering or enjoying the results of our activities from time immemorial, but we can change the results of our karma or our activity, and this change depends on the perfection of our knowledge. We are engaged in various activities. Undoubtedly we do not know what sort of activities we should adopt to gain relief from the actions and reactions of all these activities, but this is also explained in the Bhagvad-gita.²⁹ Status of Lord Buddha and Lord Vishnu sitting on lotus, speak of 'Nirlep-Karma'. The lotus represents the essential meaning of Samnyas. The lotus lives in the lake and yet the water cannot touch it. It lives in the water and yet remains untouched by the water. The lotus represents witnessing quality of one's being: One lives in the world, but he remain a witness. One remain in the world and yet he is not part of it. One participate and yet he is not part of it. One is in the world, but the world is not in him.³⁰ The Buddha is regarded as the ninth incarnation of Vishnu & Shiva being worshipped as Lokeshvara-the Lord of the Universe, by the adherents of the Mahayana Buddhism. Only the name was transformed to Avalokiteshvara Bodhisattva by Mahayanists. In the Himalayan region, there are countless shrines where the icon-the image in the inner sanctum is venerated as Shiva by the Hindus and Avalokiteshvera by the Buddhists, which speaks volumes of the Indo-Tibetan cultural affinity.³¹ Trilokenatha Shikhara Style temple, in village Triloknath in Lahaul & Spiti district in the upper reaches of the Himalayan ranges, is one of the appellations of Shiva who is regarded as the "Lord of the Three Worlds". The

statue in the temple is venerated with the same fervour as Avalokiteshvara by the Buddhists, local population as well as the pilgrims from Tibet and Ladakh. Similarly, the Markula Devi temple in Udaipur, in the same region occupies the place of pride amongst the timber shrines of Himachal Pradesh. The shrine is sacred to Hindus and Buddhists alike-the latter address the enshrined goddess as Dorje-phag-mo, -Vajravarahi in Sanskrit.³² Thunderbolt is a weapon wielded by Vedic God Indra and has been adopted by the Tibetan Buddhist. It is uncommon, to see serene Buddha seated on the Vajrasana, touching the earth with his finger, calling upon, to witness his conquest of Mara who, alongwith his wily charming daughters and the demon army, had attacked the meditating Buddha but failed to distract him.³³ A Buddhist legend chiselled in the interior of a Hindu shrine embellished with a plathora of Brahmanical-puranic legends, is no anomaly, for Indians do not regard the Buddha separate from Hinduism.³⁴

Tantrik meditation and Tantric practices involve the collective use of our triple faculty of body, speech and mind, with a view to generate the Buddha-like Wisdom and compassion whereby Enlightenment is ultimately won.³⁵

Om Mani Padme Hum is the magic formula of the Buddhists of Tibet and Himalayan region. The Mantra of six Syllables is written everywhere including stones, cloths, papers and walls. The continual repetition of this prayer is recommended as a means of acquiring merit, and way of keeping in the road is freedom; its diffusion and reproduction by writing, printing and engraving are held to be highly philanthropical act.³⁶ The six syllable prayers "Om Mani Padme Hum" is called "Vidya Sadakshari" in Sanskrit and most probably, was introduced by Indian preachers or missionaries during the

7th century. In 'Mani Kabum' or Mani Kambum, the prayer has been discussed in various details for the first time. The book was written during the regime of first Buddhist king of Tibet, Strong-tsan gampo, during the seventh century. According to some scholars, the book was written much later. The repetition of this formula is believed to have wonder powers on the chanting monks and other followers. Prayers-wheel (Mani Korlo) is yet another way of repeating the holy chant. However, Tibetans emphasise that it is always very good to recite the mantra Om mani padme hum, but while one is doing it, one should be thinking on its meaning.³⁷

Tibetan mythology is quite interesting as that of Indian sub-continent.

In Mani Kambum (Chapter xxxiv) the Bodhisattwa P'apa Sheurazig Wang-Ch'yuk is said to be the originator of the Tibetan People. From the Mount Potala, he found that the living creatures inhabiting the abode of snow (Tibet) were living in dark stage and required light of wisdom. He produced bright light from the palm of his right hand and produced the king of the monkeys who was later named as Bodhisattwa Hilumandju. At that time the nine zones of Peu-Yul (Tibet) were governed by elephants and deer, rock-ogres (drasinpo) and monkeys and ogres (sinpo). One day a rock-ogress took the semblance of a she-monkey and tried to excite the passions of meditating monkey-king. When she could not succeed, she decided to transform herself into a lovely woman. She wanted to persuade the monkey king to marry her. At last the heart of the monkey-king was moved with commiseration. He was in utter confusion and wanted to consult the Bodhisattwa at Mount Potala. With his power of meditation, he reached his dwelling and requested him to guide him in that situation. P'apa Sheurazing suggested him that he should get married and have

children. He said that, "though it may not be that thou and thy wife become human beings: in the days to come, when thy children's children have multiplied in the abode of snow (Tibet), they will become human beings, and the holy truth will be diffused among them and it will be mighty in the land". Then the lady Drolma (Jo-mo-Drolma) who is the Buddhist goddess, said, "when menkind shall have multiplied in Tibet, they will be the pillars of religion."³⁸

Later, the monkey Bodhisattwa and the ogress got married and gave birth to six sons, who, like human beings of this age, were subject to birth and death. Being the progeny of a monkey and an ogress, their bodies were covered with hair and they had tail in the beginning. They inherited the traits of quarrelsomeness, angry passions, lusts, love of wordly riches, hate, anger and great hardness. They possessed the virtues of gods and vices of Asuras (Lh'a mayin) and Preta's (Yidag) etc. They were ruddy-faced and had a taste for flesh and blood. Their heads and bodies were covered with hair and, they, alongwith their mother started living in a forest. There they happened to live with the female monkeys and suffered for want of food and shelter. The old monkey-king visited them and found that they had got multiplied but were starving for want of food. With a view to find some solution to the problem of food and shelter for his progeny, he again went to P'apa Sheurazing Nang-Ch'yuk who said that the whole race will be of two types: the first being of broad understanding, liberal mind, religious, kind hearted and the second ones being like the mother, the ogress, who take delight in killing, like flesh and blood, are strong in body, like to hear bad words about others, eat meat and are cruel and unkind to others. The place was blessed with seven types of seeds of grains including barley, wheat, beans, peas and soba (a type of barley), and metals like gold, silver, copper, iron etc.³⁹

This mythology, though original in its structure has influence of Indian thought process according to which Shunya (Vaccum) was prevalent everywhere in the beginning. Shunya had his disciple Mahashunya. Asankhjot Shunya was the follower of Mahashunya. He was followed by Narayan, Avagati, Brahma, Markandeya, Roamrikh, Dhumrikh, Vinalrikh, Dattatreya, Parasher, Bhardwaj, Vashistha, Gautam, Janak Dev, Shuk Dev, Setah, Ketah, Durvasa, Rohinya, Vasudev, Kapilmuni, Rikhimuni, Devmuni, Acharya, Kucharya, Sanmukhacharya, Balgovindacharya, Four Shankracharyas, namely Vishwarupacharya, Padmacharya, Neeraptolikacharya who had four Ashramas.

The chronological order of the Buddhist Avalokteshwaras and Bodhistattwas is in consonance with the tradition in Indian sub-continent. The order names 84 Siddhas and Nine Naths as well. Uttara Kuru, a province of our country in the remote past, was situated beyond the Himalayas (Parena Himvantam). According to some scholars, the present Tibet might have been a part of Uttara Kuru. For Tibet as well as Heaven (Swarga), there is only one term i.e., TRIVISHTAP. It can be inferred that the idea of heaven might have been associated with a mysterious land beyond the high mountains of the Himalayas.

The Tibetan social customs have some relationship with some traditions found in parts of India. In Ladakh, there is a custom of Pha-spun. Pha-spun is a system of brotherhoods, the member of which are called man-brethern or father-brothers. Francke (1914: 47-48) calls the pha-spun father-brotherships. It means a united brotherhood according to which the pha-spun members are obliged to help each other in all situation and that their relationship is governed by strict social laws and rituals. They worship a common god (pha-lha) known as father-god, live in the same habitat and participate in

various social functions. The pha-spun in Tibet also worship same Lha-tho (God residing on hill tops).

Tibetan medicinal herbs can be found in abundance in some areas of Ladakh. About 40 years ago, Ladakh reportedly had many Tibetan doctors. The Ladakhi doctors used to travel to Tibet in order to gain experience and more knowledge from meeting Mangolian and Tibetan doctors. Ladakhi doctors in ancient days did not generally charge fee from their patients.⁴⁰ Tibetan medicine system, though having a distinctive character, is influenced by Indian and Chinese Systems. The eight branched knowledge (Yan lag bragyad pa) taken from Indian medicine is the basis of the Tibetan system of healing. It includes, healthy organism, diseased organism, examination of urine (observation), examination of pulse (palpation), questioning of the System, Nutrition, behaviour and medicines.

To Tibetans India is a sublime land & they look up to India with open hearts; the Tibetan way of life and traditions are inspired by the wise guidance from India. Even the plight of Tibet is related to that of India. During the last 34 years, India has been their second home. India and Tibet have unique relations. Tibetan culture, which is closely related to Buddhism, a gift from India, has immense potential to generate peace and harmony. In the past, India gave Tibet the gift of Buddhism and Tibetans adopted it to suit their own needs.

On Indo-Tibet cultural affinity, His Holiness, the Dalai Lama elucidates: "In the past, the Tibetan civilisation was very much based on Buddhism. On account of this, Tibetan culture was influenced by Indian culture. Culturally speaking, we regard ourselves as sons of this country. We regard the Indian nation as our guru. Despite many difficulties, the Tibetans visited India and its many sacred lands. At the same time, Indians visited many sacred

places in Tibet like Mansarover and Mount Kailash. There were very close links between the two countries, not because of political or economic reasons, but because of spiritual reasons. Another example is the Tibetan language. The Tibetan alphabet is derived from the Indian script of Sanskrit. Some of the letters on the Ashoka Pillar we can also read."⁴¹ His Holiness explains that independent Tibet would be beneficial for India and world peace: "Once Tibet is a free country or as I have proposed in my peace-proposal, a zone of peace or a land of ahimsa where there are no military establishments, then India can withdraw most of her forces stationed on the whole northern border and save a lot of money, Then India can fatten the budget of her five-year plans. It would create a very peaceful border and would help to generate peace in the region and also world peace in general."⁴²

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CHAPTER SIX

TIBET-BEIJING COVENANTS

Tibetans on occupation by Chinese armed forces had to flee from their Home-land and to take refuge in India. Migration continues unabated. About 80,000 Tibetans refugees are living in India at present. Tibetan in India have been granted the status of refugees.¹ On being uprooted, they found themselves in genuinely step desperate and precarious situation. The Government of India has provided them relief and rehabilitation assistance in different States under various agricultural and handicraft schemes. The Tibetans who migrated after March, 1959 have been allowed to stay in India as Tibetan refugees and are treated as foreigners. However, those Tibetan refugees who have been married to Indian nationals are considered for grant of Indian citizenship under the Indian Citizenship Act, 1955.² By compulsion of circumstances they came closer to realities. A possibility arose of accumulating experience and forging determination and inner stead-fastness. Experience, undoubtedly enables a person to acquire inner strength, courage and determination.³ Tibetans availed of the opportunity. Younger generation is literate and have learnt all the foreign languages besides Tibetan taught to them by Lamas-the spiritual teachers. They can communicate among themselves in Tibetan and with the foreigners in the foreign languages. Tibetans presence is being felt throughout the world and in their own humble way they

are working as Ambassadors for Tibetans's cause, messengers of Lord Buddha and apostles of peace. Mr. T.S. Negi, Speaker, Himachal Vidhan Sabha is justified in saying that Internal pressures, no less than the external ones, e.g. world opinion seem to be telling upon China's thinking. At a recent press conference, His Holiness the Dalai Lama has gone on record to say: that he perceives a change in the attitude of China. May be new vistas will open up. We in India should take that futuristic vision in time.⁴ Governor Gyaincain Norbu says that it will take a long time, several generations, before the striving for independence in Tibet comes to an end.⁵

According to Tibetan historical record, the first King of Tibet ruled from 127 Bc, but Tibet emerged as a unified State only in the 7th century AD-it was a mighty empire under Emperor Songtsen Gampo-that ushered in an era of political and military greatness and territorial greatness and lasted for three centuries. The King of Nepal and the Emperor of China offered their daughters to the Tibetan Emperor in marriage. Tibetan ruler Trisong Detsen (755-797) expanded the Tibetan empire by conquering parts of China. In 763, China's capital Changan (modern day Xian) was invaded and China had to pay an annual tribute to Tibet. The peace treaty concluded between Tibet and China in 821 illustrate the nature of relations between the two great powers of Asia-Tibet and China.⁶

In mid-ninth century, the Tibetan State fragmented into several principalities; The Mongol ruler Genghis Khan and his successors conquered vast territory in Asia and Europe creating one of the largest empires the world has ever known, stretching from the pacific to eastern Europe, In 1207, Tangut empire north of Tibet fell to the advancing Mongols. During 1240, Prince Goden, grandson of Genghis invited Sakya pandita Kunga Gyaltsen (1182-1251) a leading religious hierarch, to his court, and

established and enduring Tibetan-Mongol relationship. Kublai Khan, who succeeded Goden Khan, embraced Tibetan Buddhism and adopted Drogon Cheegyal Pragpa, nephew of Sakya Pandita, as his spiritual mentor and adopted Buddhism as his empire's State religion. In gratitude, Kublai Khan, during 1254 offered his Tibetan Lama political authority over Tibet.⁷

Tibet broke its political relationship with the Mongols in 1350. Tibetan Emperor Jangchub Gyaltsen (1350-1364) did away with Mongol influences and enacted a code of Law Trimying Skelchey Cho-nga-a fifteen Article Code, for administration of justice in the Kingdom. Tibet remained a sovereign State as is evident from the fact that the ruling Phagmodru Prince, Dakpa Gyaltsen, turned down the imperial invitation to visit China. In 1642, the Great Fifth Dalai Lama became the supreme political and religious ruler of unified Tibet.⁸

The emperor Shunzi, after having conquered China and annexed it to the Manchu empire, invited the 5th Dalai Lama in 1653 for a State visit. Commenting on Dalai Lama's visit, W.W. Rockhill, An American Scholar and diplomat in China wrote: The Dalai Lama had been treated with all the ceremony which could have been accorded to any independent sovereign and nothing can be found in Chinese works to indicate that he was looked upon in any other light, as this period of China's relations with Tibet, the temporal power of the Dalai Lama, backed by the arms of Gusri Khan and the devotion of all Mongols was not a thing for the Emperor of China to question.⁹ The Dalai Lamas in succession oneafter another continued to rule Tibet both as temporal and spiritual head.

However fascinating Tibet's ancient history may be, its status at the time of the Chinese invasion and occupation, of course, must be judged on the basis of its position in the modern history, especially its relationship

viz-a-viz China since 1911, when Chinese overthrew the foreign Manchu rule and became the masters of their own destiny in China.¹⁰ History is a witness that Thirteenth Dalai Lama just like Fourteenth had also to flee from Tibet and to take refuge in India on the arrival of Chinese troops under Chungu-in on February 12, 1910 in Tibet. The Chinese garrison in Lhasa looted arsenal and treasury, did enormous damage to life and property and indulged in unrestrained excesses against the Tibetans.¹¹ The main initiative in resisting the Chinese was taken by the monks of Sera, Drepung and Ganden the "Three Pillars" of the State of Tibet. The Chinese sought for a reprocement with Tibetans. The Tibetan insistence on the Chinese complete surrender and the Chinese apprehension with regard to their safe conduct through Tibet and their fate in their own country if they returned there without their arms for many months a great obstacle in the way of a settlement between the Chinese and Tibet. The return of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama to Tibet in July 1912, created necessary climate for peace negotiations and helped in the effecting of an armistice-stopping of hostilities. Peace between the Chinese and Tibetans was eventually concluded on August 12, 1912.¹² It was during the summer of 1912 that Nepalese mediation between Tibet and China resulted in the conclusion of the "Three point Agreement" providing for formal surrender and expulsion of all the remaining Chinese imperial troops from Tibet.¹³ The English version of the 1912 agreement is available in the Archives of the School of Internal Studies.

In the years preceding 1912, there were indeed close friendly relations of a personal nature between the Emperor of China and His Holiness the Dalai Lama. But the conduct of Chinese during their expedition of 1910 creates rupture between Tibet and China. The Chinese revolution of 1911, which dethroned the last Manchurian Emperor,

snapped the last of the sentimental and religious bonds that Tibet had with China. Thereafter Tibet entirely depended on its isolation, on its faith in the wisdom of Lord Buddha, and occasionally on the support of British in India for its protection.¹⁴ It was British persuasion which led Tibet to sign a treaty by which China was accorded the right to maintain a mission in Lhasa, though it was strictly forbidden to meddle in the internal affairs of Tibet. His Holiness the Dalai Lama is justified in saying that: even the nominal suzerainty which Tibet conceded to China is not enforceable because of non-signing of the Treaty of 1914 by China that still guides relations between Tibet and India. China not being a party to it may be taken to have denounced the benefits that would have otherwise accrued to it from 1914 treaty.¹⁵

The Chinese version on the subject appears to be that 1911 Revolution overthrew the Qing Dynasty and with it was swept over board the China's ancient monarchic system. The founders of the new Republic of China wanted it to be strong to defend the country's orders and independence against the gnawings of foreign powers.¹⁶ The first Chinese Republic was founded in 1911. Its multinational character was stressed in the new flag of five stripes, one standing for Tibet. In the subsequent years, China became unprecedentedly weak, disunited and penetrated by various imperialistic force.⁵ And it was then that the British rulers in India, seizing their advantage, became most vigorous in the promotion of separatism in Tibet. In fact Britain in 1912, officially threatened to refuse to recognise the new Chinese Republic at all unless Tibet was excluded from its administration, military system and parliament.¹⁷ On August 17, 1912, Sir John Jordan, the British Minister in Beijing, declared that his government would not recognise the Republic of China if it sent garrisons or administrators to Tibet or gave it parliamentary representation. Sir John Jordan

wanted a special conference held, pending which British would block all transit of goods and personnel between Tibet and the rest of China. On July 3, and 7, 1914 Yuan Shikai regime of China declared both at Simla and London that China rejected the convention and any arrangements British might sign with anyone on Tibet would be regarded as null and void.¹⁸ The Chinese authorities assert that at the time of the Simla agreement of 1914, which China neither signed nor ratified, the British manipulated the Tibetan representative to put his signatures respecting the MC Mohanline.¹⁹

The Government of India has been ascertaining that Tibet was virtually a sovereign Nation at the time of Shimla Convention in 1913-14 which fixed the Indo-Tibetan boundary east of Bhutan. This was not the first time that Tibet conducted negotiations and concluded treaties, on her own right, with other States. For example, Tibet concluded a treaty with Nepal in 1856 and another with Great Britain in 1904. These treaties were never objected to by China and were fully operative. At the Simla Conference, the Tibetan and Chinese plenipotentiaries met on an equal footing. This position was explicitly and unequivocally accepted by the Chinese Government.²⁰ Shri Giri Lal Jain asserted regarding MC Mohan Lines that the credentials of the Tibetan representative issued by the Dalai Lama made it clear that Tibet was an equal party at the conference with the right 'to decide all matters that may be beneficial to Tibet' and the Chinese representative accepted the credentials of the Tibetan representative as being in order.²¹ Moreover, the Indo-Tibetan boundary was delineated on the map appended to the tripartite convention which was signed by the Chinese representative on April 27, 1914.²²

Thirteenth Dalai Lama returned from India and issued a proclamation on February 14, 1913 that Tibet was an independent nation.²³ No power or authority was exercised

by the Government of China in or over Tibet since the declaration of Independence by the Thirteenth Dalai Lama in 1912.²⁴ Tsung Lien-Shen Chi-Liu who were both members of the Chinese Mission in Lhasa, say "since 1911 Lhasa has to all practical purposes enjoyed full independence." In support of this they mention that Tibet had its own currency and customs, its own telegraph and postal service, and its own civil service different from that of China and its own Army.²⁵ In 1913, the Tibetan Government entered into a treaty with the Government of Mongolia. This treaty was entered into under the authority of the Dalai Lama. By this treaty Tibet and Mongolia declared that they recognised each other as independent countries.²⁶ The China's position during the period 1911-1949 was ambiguous. China's President repeatedly sent letters and envoys to the Dalai Lama and to the Tibetan Government asking that Tibet "Join" the Republic of China. Tibet consistently refused to join China. In response to the first letter of Chinese President Yuan Shih-Kai the Thirteenth Dalai Lama rejected the invitation to join the Republic explaining courteously but firmly that Tibetans did "not approve" of the Chinese Government due to past injustices and stated : "The Republic has just been proclaimed and the national foundations are far from strong. It behoves the President to direct his energies towards the maintenance of order. As for Tibet, the Thibetans are quite capable of preserving their existence intact and there is no occasion for the President to worry himself at this distance or to be discomfited."²⁷ Between 1912 and till the Seventeen Point Agreement was signed on May 23, 1951, Tibet continued to conduct its foreign affairs without reference to any outside authority. Tibetan delegations in 1946 and again in 1948 travelled extensively on Tibetan passports.²⁸ Tibet's independent foreign policy is perhaps most obviously demonstrated by the country's neutrality during World War II. Despite strong pressures from Britain, the U.S.

and the China to allow passage of military supplies through Tibet to China when Japan had blocked the strategically vital "Burma Road", Tibet held fast to its declared neutralist, which the allies were constrained to accept.²⁹

During 1912 to early 1951, Tibet with His Holiness Dalai Lama as temporal and spiritual head, formulated its own foreign policy, within the limits of the rights of other States and conducted its domestic affairs as it deemed fit. It also acted with due diligence in protection of aliens. It had its own postal and telegraph service, currency and had its independent Army and Police Force. The Tibetan administration was run according to its own conscience. The sovereignty of Tibet was not subject to the will of another. It existed as an independent entity co-equal with other sovereign states and with exclusive jurisdiction over its territory. Without disturbing history the Chinese Government cannot deny the fact that Tibet was independent between 1911 and 1951 (without distorting history). Even China's last Head of Mission to Lhasa, Shen Tsung-Lien after leaving the country in 1948, wrote: "Since 1911 Lhasa (i.e., the Tibetan Government in Lhasa) has to all practical purposes enjoyed full independence."³⁰ Tibet had been an independent State till it was swallowed by China in early 1951. Tibet had never been an integral part of China. Before the invasion of Tibet in 1950, it has all the postulates of an independent State under international law, territory, people and government. Tibet is a reality. In International Law, recognition can be obtained by an explicit act of recognition or by implicit act or behaviour. The conclusion of treaties, even the conduct of negotiations, and certainly the maintenance of diplomatic relations are forms of recognition.³¹ Nepal, Bhutan, Britain, China and India maintained diplomatic missions in Tibet's capital Lhasa. The Tibetan Foreign office also conducted limited relations

with the United States when President Franklin D. Roosevelt sent emissaries to Lhasa to request assistance for the Allied War effort against Japan during the 2nd World War.³² Of Support from various important Treaties and trade regulations mentioning by mode of Treaty between Tibet and China A.D. 821-822. The Kings and Ministers of Tibet and China's prescribed oath.³³ Treaty between Tibet and Bushahr, 1681;³⁴ Treaty between Tibet and Ladakh, 1683³⁵ Treaty between Tibet and Ladakh, 1684;³⁶ Treaty between Tibet and Nepal, 1856³⁷ The convention of Chafoo, 1876³⁸ (between the British Government and the Government of China); Convention relating to Burmah and Tibet, July 24, 1886,³⁹ Convention of March 17th 1890, Ratifications exchanged at London on August 27th 1890 between Great Britain and China relating to Sikkim and Tibet;⁴⁰ Regulations regarding Trade, Communication and Pasturage, signed at Darjeeling on December 5, 1893;⁴¹ Convention between Great Britain and Tibet signed at Lhasa on September 7, 1904 and ratified at Simla on November 11, 1904;⁴² this Treaty drew the bonds between the British and Tibetan Governments much closer.⁴³ Convention between Great Britain and China respecting Tibet, signed at Peking, April 27, 1906, Ratifications exchanged at London on July 23, 1906;⁴⁴ Convention between Great Britain and Russia relating to Persia, Afghanistan and Tibet, signed at St. Petersburg on August 31, 1907.⁴⁵ The Tibetans were never informed about the provisions of this treaty-the agreement between Great Britain, China and Tibet amending Trade Regulations in Tibet, of December 5, 1893, signed at Calcutta, on April 20, 1908;⁴⁶ Treaty between Tibet and Mongolia, said to have been signed at Urga in January, 1913;⁴⁷ India-Tibet Frontier 1914, dated Delhi March 24, 1914.⁴⁸ Convention between Great Britain, China and Tibet at Simla 1914.⁴⁹ All these treaties, agreements, conventions, and trade regulations are

irrefutable pointers proving that Tibet had been remained an independent, sovereign State.

Undoubtedly Nations being free, independent and equal and having a right to judge according to the dictates of conscience, of what is to be done in order to fulfill its duties; the effect of all this is, the producing of, at least externally, a perfect equality of rights between nations, in the administration of their affairs, and the pursuit of their pretensions, without regard to the intrinsic justice of their conduct, of which others have no right to form a definite judgement; so that what is permitted in one, is also permitted in the other, and they ought to be considered in human society as having an equal right—Emeric De Vattel, *Droit des gens*.⁵⁰ On Tibet's independence and border territories Tibet wanted back from China, the then Dalai Lama said: "Under the priest-patron relationship that prevailed so far, Tibet has enjoyed wide independence. We wish to preserve this. We feel that there will be long term stability if the territories we have lost to outsiders are returned to us."⁵¹ After the death of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, Huang Mu-Sung was the first Chinese to be officially permitted to enter Tibet in an official capacity since their expulsion from Tibet in 1911. The Kinnaur district of Himachal Pradesh, which adjoins Tibet, has age-old trade relations with Tibet, duly sanctified by an historic treaty concluded centuries ago, during 1681, between the Government of Tibet and Raja Kehar Singh of the erstwhile Bushahar State which included the area of present Kinnaur District. This commercial connection was cut off over four decades ago by the Chinese occupation of Tibet. The tie is reported to have recently been revived by an agreement signed between India and China. Not only the important border areas of India but India as a whole shares vital interests with Tibet.⁵² Friendly relations with China are no doubt of high importance. But the security of Indian frontier is

certainly of no less importance, was stressed by Sir Charles Bell, in his book "Tibet; Past and Present", published in 1924. And there is no reason why, if India maintained relations of neighbourly friendliness with Tibet relations with China should thereby be imperilled.⁵³ The Chinese have described the "Beijing talks" on July 13, 1993, between the Chinese authorities and the Tibetan delegation, led by the Speaker of the Kashag-Tibetan Parliament-in-exile, as "official" and an indirect recognition by the Chinese of the Tibetan Kashang. This is likely to pave way for future talks. His Holiness the Dalai Lama recently said that: the Chinese Government was adopting a positive and improved attitude on Tibet issue and wanted to maintain direct contact⁵⁴. Both India and China regard Tibet as autonomous. Independence and antonomy are variable terms and neither Tibet nor China can alter geographical locations of other. Though the issue is primarily bilateral between Tibet and China, its complexity as well as neighbourhood compulsions make it trilateral in nature.⁵⁵

In the words of Professor Rinpoche: "If a friendly and peaceful relationship can be established between India and China on a lasting and secure basis then we will not come in the way." Recently H.H. Dalai Lama said with emotions: "We may oppose the Chinese authorities, but we want good relations with Chinese people." The sentiments conveyed by professor Rinpoche and H.H. Dalai Lama are likely to create congenial atmosphere. India and Beijing are expected not to miss this golden opportunity. Earlier also some 212 Members of Parliament in a joint memo-randum presented by Professor Madhu Dandvate to the then Speaker Dr. Balram Jakhar said: They considered the Dalai Lama's Five-Point Peace Plan which was first enunciated in Washington in September, 1987, a "historic step towards resolving the important question of Tiebt, alleviating

suffering of the Tibetan people and relieving regional tensions. His Holiness the Dalai Lama's offer of finding a negotiated settlement with regard to the future status of Tibet is statesmanship like and we hope the new leadership in China will reciprocate it positively keeping in view the larger interest of both Chinese and Tibetan people."⁵⁶

Whatever the political nature of the claims of China over Tibet be it suzerainty or sovereignty, or imperial domination-whatever the strength or weakness of these claims, the fact remains that, at the Simla Conference, China participated and so did Tibet, each in its own right and for itself and not as the representative of the other.⁵⁷

Having made sure of its own reasonable and just and fair interests, it would behove India to throw all its weight of good offices and international support in favour of what His Holiness demands. However no time should be lost in at least informal exchanges of views with His Holiness, the solid outcome of which should be pressed by both India and Tibet when the occasion arrives for negotiations with China, before that country is willingly entrusted by Tibet with its foreign affairs and defence matters. The broad, basic and overall policy aspect should be distinguished from as many secondary matters of detail as China might be persuaded to leave to allow for direct and independent dealing between India and Tibet. China should figure nowhere in this area.⁵⁸

China cannot be said to be unaware of the fissiparous tendencies that they face, some systematic and some encouraged, to split China. China is not likely to forget what it believe is the dubious role played by Western intelligence agencies in formenting the crisis that resulted in Tiananmen square event in 1989. Violation of Human Rights in Tibet and subjugation of Tibet by China are the issues which are likely to give a lot of grief

to the country racing for world power after the split of Soviet Union.⁵⁹ There is great hope for Tibet now that strange changes are taking place in the world. The changes have not been precipitated by one or two individual countries. Speaking religiously, these changes have taken place because truth ultimately prevails. Moreover, suppression and domination are inherently not suited to human nature.⁶⁰ The philosophy of change of change as described by Alvin Toffler, in "Future Shock", may be in right direction but the pace of change of progress may not be satisfactory. The people of Tibet have pinned their hopes on India. Undoubtedly, international support for Tibet's cause is increasing but most important factor is Indian support. It cannot be disputed that the issue of Tibet is related to Indian national interest.

Despite Indian compulsions, Sino-Indian dialogue and good relations between the two countries, could remove many of Chinese irritants. But there are many positive reasons for a Sino-Indian detente, the current balance of power-military and economic, strongly favours the west. Coordinated and cooperative action would benefit not just the two nations, but the developing countries of the world. The collapse of the cold war, balance of power therefore provides opportunities and risks for India and China. Both share ancient ties as well as modern vulnerabilities. The process of emphasising cooperation is needed. Vast challenges inclusive of Tibet's issue remain but the rewards are great.⁶⁰ Israel Epstein, in his book "Tibet Transformed" (New World Press Beijing) says: "The situation in Tibet is now completely under control by the Tibetan Military Area Command of the PIA and the preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet — The Preparatory Committee has begun to assume the functions and powers of local government. As for future social reforms in Tibet, the Central Government will conduct full

consultations with patriotic people of the upper and middle social strata and the masses in all walks of life to decide on the time, steps and the measures. In any case, the reforms will be carried out step by step with full regard for the specific conditions in Tibet, and in the course of the reforms the religious beliefs and customs and habits of the Tibetan people will be fully respected and the fine aspects of Tibetan culture will be upheld and developed. Although the Dalai Lama has been abducted to India, we still hope he will be able to free himself from the grip of the rebels and return to the mother-land —". However, His Holiness the Fourteenth Dalai Lama justifiably asserts: "Returning to Tibet is not so important as keeping alive and preserving the religion, culture and traditions of Tibet. In Tibet, this has been almost wiped out and it is only here in India that we can hope to preserve it". The possibility of preserving the religion, culture and traditions of Tibet is remote in Chinese occupied Tibet and their preservation is possible in a free and independent Tibet. His Holiness the Dalai Lama has already toned down the demand. He is willing to entrust defence and foreign affairs with China and for the rest the Tibetans should have full control of Tibet and its administration.

The Chinese have a sense of history. They think not in years or decades, but in centuries and revival of trade relations appears to be an outcome of deep thinking. Two-way trade between China and India is picking up. The potential is vast.⁶² India-China protocol for extension of border trade says that Shipki La would be used as an additional route for trade and border mark. It would be located at Namgyan in district Kinnaur Himachal Pradesh and Jiuba in Tibet. Border trade between the two countries was resumed in July 1992 following the visit of Premier Li Pong.⁶³ Opening of trading posts across the border and such trading facilities tend to defreeze the border

and at the same time, this may also strengthen the feeling that the nearly 43 years-old Tibet issue may also move close to a solution based on ground realities. All this is but a small step, but then that is how long distances are covered.⁶⁴ His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan Government in Exile firmly believe that the only way to start negotiations for the peaceful solution of the Tibet problem is without pre-conditions from either side.⁶⁵ Tibet a reality since its occupation by Chinese forces during 1951 is starting at the humanity as a whole, to steer to regain its independence. It is encouraging that many governments have supported Tibet's cause but Chinese Government's continuous insistence on Seventeen Point Agreement, signed on May 23, 1951 by the Tibetan Delegation ignoring the Tibet's recent history for the period 1911-1951, that it was an independent country is the hitch.⁶⁶ Even the recent scientific studies of archaeological findings have revealed that Tibetans and Chinese have been two distinct peoples since the dawn of human civilisation. There are clear evidence that the genesis of civilisation in China, Tibet are different.⁶⁷ Historically Tibet was a completely independent nation and in the Seventh and eighth centuries, Tibet was a mighty kingdom.⁶⁸ The seventeen clauses of the Agreement amongst other things, authorised the entry into Tibet of Chinese forces; It speaks volumes against the voluntary nature of execution of the Agreement. This supports Dalai Lama's version that "Seventeen-Point Agreement" was "thrust upon Tibetan Government and people by arm twisting. The version of His Holiness finds further support from the admission of Mao Zedong, in the Directive of Central Committee of C.P.C. on the policies for work in Tibet, as contained in the Statement, referred to in the selected works of Mao Tsetung issued on April 6, 1952: "Not only the two silons (i.e., Prime Ministers) but also Dalai Lama and most of his clique were reluctant to accept the Agreement and are unwilling to carry it

out.... As yet we do not have a material base for fully implementing the agreement, nor do we have a base for this purpose in terms of support among the masses or in the upper stratum."⁷⁰ The Chinese sources are the only ones which contain enough material, understood by their authors to enable one to reconstruct even a vague picture.⁷¹ The aforementioned admission in the selected works of Mao Tsetung, cannot be said to be a slip of pen. Under the circumstances, the "seventeen Point-Agreement" by no stretch of imagination can be said to be a voluntary act of the Tibetan delegation who signed the same. A perusal of the clause (2) of the Seventeen-Point Agreement itself clinches the issue that the agreement was involuntary. The Clause (2) reads: "The Local Government of Tibet shall actively assist the people's Liberation Army to enter Tibet and consolidate the national defence". Under the agreement the Tibetan Government was under an obligation to allow the Chinese Army enter Tibet and support the Army rule in Tibet.

That in brief is the told and untold story of yesterday and to-day. For better tomorrow His Holiness has taken the first step, by establishing direct contact with the Chinese Government and not asking for total independence. Tibet was a sovereign, independent country. Independence is their right. However, in view of the critical situation, His Holiness Dalai Lama has come up with the Five-Point Peace Plan and the Strasbourg Proposal. Unfortunately, they have yielded no positive results so far. Any how, the first hopeful step has been taken in the right direction. The Chinese saying goes, even the longest journey begins with a tiny step. With sincerity, co-operation and determination, all mountains that block the way can be moved. However, the Tibetans while dealing with the Chinese shall have to remember the Chinese exhortation: "Remember the past while building the future."

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TIBETAN'S GENOCIDE : HUMAN RIGHTS

The idea of the inalienable rights of the human beings has often been articulated by poets, philosophers and politicians and the development of international protection of human rights may be said to have its roots in antiquity¹. The topic of human rights is of universal concern that cuts across major ideological, political and cultural boundaries.² The tradition and modern concepts of human rights and fundamental freedoms have taken shape during long development of society with democratic spirit.

The English Magna Carta of 1215, the Habeas Corpus Act of 1679, the Bill of Rights of 1689, the American Declaration of Independence in 1776, the French Declaration of Human Rights of Man in 1789, the American Bill of Rights of 1791 and the German Constitutions of 1919 and 1949 are all based on the concept of natural rights of the human beings. These and other similar statutes were the milestones along the road in which the individual acquired protection against the capricious acts of kings, despots and the rulers and the right to lead a free life and liberty in a free society.³ The year 1945, after the Atomic attack on Japan marked a watershed in the recent history of human civilisation when the United Nations came into existence, incorporating the vision of a new world. The contemporary concern for human rights owes its beginning

to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which was adopted, 45 years ago, on December 10, 1948.

The guarantee and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms are essential part of justice, fair play and common good of the community as a whole. But the protection of human rights have not progressed beyond what Abraham Lincoln declared a century ago, when he said: "They meant simply to declare the rights, so that enforcement of it might follow as fast as circumstances should permit. They meant to set up a standard maxim for free society which should be familiar to all, and revered by all; constantly looked to, constantly laboured for, and even though never perfectly attained, constantly approximated and thereby constantly spreading and deepening its influence and augmenting the happiness and value of life to all class every where."⁴

The complexion of Tibet changed since 1949-50, when the People's Republic of China sent an army to Tibet. The Chinese forces not only trampled Tibetans, their culture, religion & way of life, but also killed, one-sixth of the population of Tibet i.e., 1.2 millions between 1951 and 1979. The Tibetan resistance movement by 1959, when even His Holiness The Dalai Lama had to take refuge in India. There appears to be no end to Chinese atrocities against the ethnic Tibetans. Detentions without trial and command to shoot at sight are the order of the day and are indicia of authority to command habitual obedience, like machine. The suffering of the Tibetans within Tibet and of the Tibetan refugees, has no end to their misery. The Chinese have been sent to the remote lands within Tibet with a view to reducing the native Tibetans to a minority in course of time. Dalai Lama is justified when he says that the disturbing feature, however, is the continuous attempt to change ethnic composition. The demographic aggression of Tibet through a policy of population transfer continues unabated,

escalating the marginalisation of Tibetan people and the assimilation of the Tibetan way of life into Chinese mainstream. The cultural genocide is being committed.⁵ The Chinese attempt in obliterating the Tibetan identity may be gleaned from the events of last more than four decades. The bitter truth may be that since the Chinese invasion, over a million Tibetans have died as a direct result of Pecking's policies. United Nations in its resolution adopted during 1965 characterised it as "acts of murder, rape and arbitrary imprisonment, torture and cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment of Tibetans on a large scale, thereby completely destroying their liberty and freedom."⁶ The State immunity against liability for wrongs committed, originated with monarchical, aristocratic, autocratic, exploitative Governments and it still appears to exist in Chinese regime of Tibet. The Government can do no wrong or whatever the Government would do may not be wrong, is discernible from their acts of omission and commission in Tibet.

The International Commission of Jurists, while considering Seventeen-Point Agreement signed between Tibetans and Chinese during the course of its investigation, examined every Chinese and Tibetan statement, sent its trained men to interrogate Tibetan refugees and in doing so brought to light more horrors. The enquiry revealed that: Tens of thousands of Tibetans have been killed, not only in military actions, but individually and deliberately. They have been killed, without trial, on suspicion of opposing communism, or of hoarding money, or simply because of their status and position or for no reason at all. But mainly and fundamentally they have been killed because they would not renounce their religion. They have not only been shot, but beaten to death, crucified, buried alive, drowned, vivisected, starved, strangled, hanged, scaled, disemboweled, and beheaded.⁷ President Truman, in his closing speech to the San Francisco said

that: We have good reason to expect the framing of an international bill of rights, acceptable to all the nations involved. The United Nations Charter is dedicated to the achievement and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Unless we can achieve those objectives for all men and women everywhere-without regard to race, language or religion-we cannot have permanent peace and security.⁸ The International bill of rights and what President Truman said stairs one in face, in the context of the report of International Commission of jurists. The peace appears to be illusive in Tibet and whatever it is, it is peace of grave. The report further reveals that these killings in Tibet have been done in public. The fellow villagers, friends, and neighbours have been made to watch the victims.⁹ Men and women have been slowly killed while their own families were forced to watch, and small children have been forced to shoot their parents. Many thousands of children upto the age of fifteen have been forcibly taken from their parents and sterilized. The Chinese have destroyed hundreds of monasteries in Tibet, killing the Lamas and sending monks to labour camps, ordering monks under pain of death to break their vows of celibacy, and using the empty monastic buildings and temples as army barracks and stables.¹⁰

The methods that Chinese used to intimidate the population were so abhorrent that they were almost beyond the capacity of one's imagination. In order to prevent the Tibetan's shouting out "Long live the Dalai Lama", their tongues were torn out with meat hooks. The International Commission of Jurists considered the Chinese guilty of "the gravest crime of which any person or nation can be accused" - that is, of genocide, "The intent to destroy, in whole or in part, national, ethnical, racial or religious groups as such." The Commission was satisfied that the Chinese intend to destroy the Buddhists

of Tibet.¹¹ Tibetans in Tibet, for over four decades, have lived under an opppressive and tyrannical regime, completely deprived of not only basic human rights but even right to life. The former speaker, Lord Weatherill, said, "What is going on in Tibet is morally wrong. I believe that it is high time that public opinion was altered to it and that Her Majesty's Government took a much more active and positive line in condemning the Chinese for the abuse and denial of human rights, for the action of the Chinese Government in destroying Tibetan culture and the Tibetan way of life. In a real sense it is, and has been, cultural and physical genocide."¹² Lord Braine is justified in saying that: the Tibetan people are the victims of one of the cruellest regime on earth.

Undoubtedly the right of life is the foremost human right and life means more than mere existence. A dynamic as against static, view of the quality of life makes it clear that life includes livelihood. Deprive a person of his right to livelihood and he is deprived of his life.¹³ Mahatma Gandhi emphasised: Every human being has a right to live and, therefore, to find wherewithal to feed himself.

Article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights provides that: "Everyone has a right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care". The right to life, being a basic human right, becomes a farce, if law turns out to be in statute and lawlessness a ground reality. Professor Humphrey remarked, "human rights without effective right to a remedy is extremely important."¹⁴ As it is not sufficient just to read about medicine, it must be administered in order to bring about a cure,¹⁵ it is not sufficient to make provisions for human rights one has to get them implemented. However, the healthy trend is, that violation of human rights in any part of the world is felt all over.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, under the auspices of the United Nations, is the hope amidst encircling gloom prevailing in Tibet. It would be mistake, however, to believe that the most important work in the field of human rights is confined to the large arenas of International discussion and decision. Indeed the advances made through Declaration or Convention at the International level become real only when they are reflected in action at the grass root local level.¹⁶ The universal acceptance of the Declaration of Human Rights by the Community of nations is eloquently illustrated in the words of the then Secretary-General of the United Nations U. Thant, at the International Conference on Human Rights held in Tehran during 1968: there are no fewer than forty-Constitutions adopted in recent years which are clearly inspired by the universal declaration, and that examples of legislation expressing or quoting or reproducing provisions of the Declaration can be found in all continents."¹⁷ Most of the human rights which are enshrined in the Human Rights Declaration find also a place in the Chapter on Fundamental Rights of Indian Constitution. Article 21 guarantees right to life and personal liberty. The protection guaranteed under this Article is available to citizens and non-citizens.¹⁸ The Article 21 clubs life with liberty, dignity of a person with the means of livelihood without which the glorious content of dignity of person would be reduced to animal existence.¹⁹

The human rights are basically deep rooted in the cultural values of every nation. These rights founded on the concept of natural rights of men, can be said to be the beginning of the era of human rights. These were designed to establish and guarantee freedom and equality to every human being from State intervention. Srikanta Misra is justified in saying that: Human Rights are based on man-kind's increasing demand for a decent civilised life in which the inherent dignity of each human being will

find respect and protection. Human Rights are fundamental to our nature and without them we can not live as human-being.²⁰ If there is one single ideology widely accepted round the world today, it is the concept of ideology of Human Rights. Out of the traumatic experience and shock of the dark days of the two world wars in the first half of this century, when human dignity stood compromised as never before in human history was born the human rights movement.²¹

The general word "human rights" has taken the form of the International Bill of Human Rights which encompass besides the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; the International covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; and the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. The first three are general instruments of substantive inter-national human rights law and the last one deals with a method of international implementation. They all recognize that the inherent dignity and the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family are the foundations of freedom, justice and peace in the world.²² The General Assembly adopted on December 16, 1966, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, by which these social and economic rights were re-emphasized.²³ The International Human Rights Conference held in Tehran on May 13, 1968, emphasised that unless basic social and economic rights are ensured to the masses, civil and political rights become meaningless. In its final proclamation, the Conference resolved: "since human rights and fundamental freedoms are indivisible, the full realisation of civil and political rights without the enjoyment of economic, social and cultural rights is impossible."²⁴ Thus, Human Rights today embrace a large variety of rights like economic rights, social rights, cultural rights, right to privacy, right to decent standard of living

and right to equality of opportunity. Realising the importance of the economic development, the General Assembly of the United Nations, has at the end of 1986 as a part of its campaign for observance of human rights by the member states, adopted a declaration, namely, "Declaration on the Right of Development" and a resolution on National Institutions for the Protection and Promotion of Human Rights.²⁵

The right to healthy environment led to the recognition of a new International Economic order. The Declaration on the Right to Development incorporates the charter of the rights of all developing countries to development. The right to development is recognized as an inalienable human right by virtue of which every human being and all people are entitled to participate in, and contribute to the enjoyment of economic, social, cultural and political development in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be duly realized.²⁶ The human right to development also implies the full realization of the right of people's self determination which includes, subject to the relevant provisions of both International Covenants on Human Rights, the exercise of their inalienable right to full sovereignty over all their natural wealth and resources.²⁷ The moral principle underlying the declarations of human rights is that every human being in this world should be able to live as a free being with adequate opportunity to mould his own future to live comfortably, free from all kinds of fear. Ulrich Karpen views the very core of the idea of human rights as the conviction of men that human dignity is inviolable and attributed to every man and woman equally.

The importance of the concept of human dignity is exemplified by its inclusion in the International basic legal texts. The United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights mentions "dignity" twice in the preamble and thrice in the Articles.²⁸ Similarly, the International

Covenant on Economics, social and Cultural Rights has also mentioned it twice in its preamble and in the Article.²⁹ International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights also mentions it twice in its Preamble.³⁰ Resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 9, 1975 is the Declaration on the Protection of All persons From Being Subjected to torture and other cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, Amnesty International's handout³¹ consists of twelve Articles and Article 2 of the same reads: "Any act of torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment is an offence to *human dignity* and shall be condemned as a denial of the purpose of the charter of the United Nations and as a violation of the human rights and fundamental freedoms proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights."

Right to life is basically a fundamental human right and right to life includes the right to live with basic human dignity with necessities of life such as nutrition, clothing, food, shelter over the head, facilities for cultural and socio-economic well-being of all and every individual, including the better tomorrow.

"Dignity" of course, falls in the category of the spiritual and cultural values. According to Dr. Williams, the Sanskrit equivalent of the word "dignity" is "maryyada."³² Undoubtedly, the "dignity" lies in righteous conduct. Human dignity is best expressed in the struggle for justice, freedom, and equality. Freedom of individual self-determination, self-actualization, and equal protection of every person are the elements of the concept of justice.³³

Appreciating the trends, the United Nations General Assembly has passed in 1986 a resolution in respect of "National Institutions for the protection and promotion of Human Rights." This resolution emphasizes the

importance of developing in accordance with national legislation, effective national institutions for the protection and promotion of human rights and of maintaining their independence and integrity, and encourages all member States to take appropriate steps for the protection and promotion of human rights.³⁴

The United Nations has consistently recognized the need for Regional arrangements, the aim being to promote the world peace, social and economic development and other cherished goals. Human Right Commissions and similar Organisations dealing with Human Rights Violations are functioning in number of countries. In the Asian Region, only a few nations, such as Japan, the Republic of Korea, the Philippines have ratified fundamental conventions concerning social rights and freedoms. But strangely enough, the Chinese people's Republic - a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council is not among them.³⁵

In the recent years, Non-Governmental Organisations have developed, which have significant influence in the protection, preservation and advancement of human rights. In the 45th session of the United Nations Commission on human rights which met in Geneva in 1989, the Prime Minister of France, M. Michael Record had this to say in praise of NGO's: "when States keep silent, the NGO's act, unfettered by reasons of the state. That is when the oppressed resist and the excluded regain hope."³⁶ The first global human rights conference in 25 years opened on June 14, 1993 at Vienna, where some 5,000 delegates from 183 countries gathered.³⁷ United Nations Secretary General Boutros Ghalli, hailed the conference as an impressive acceleration in the course of history and called for adoption of human rights as a common language of humanity that would bring about global understanding and bind the world in a single human community.³⁸ President of Austria, T. Klestil, in

his inaugural address, said that: It was an opportune time after transformations in international power constraints, to accept human rights as a common achievement of mankind.³⁹ However, Amnesty Secretary General Pierre Seen said that: Is this what is meant by a commitment to human right, that a man of peace the Dalai Lama is forbidden to participate in conference.⁴⁰ The Chinese diplomacy is at work. A planned six days visit from July 14, 1993, of the Dalai Lama to Japan was cancelled due to pressure from China. The Chinese Embassy in Tokyo exerted diplomatic pressure on a Japanese Buddhist University to withdraw its support and backing for the visit of his Holiness, who had been invited to Japan as a spiritual leader. The incident followed a failed attempt by China to block the Dalai Lama's participation at a U.N World Conference on human rights in Vienna on June 15, 1993.⁴¹ The Tibet's exiled spiritual leader, the Dalai Lama the Nobel Peace Laureate who despite being invited by the Austrian Government to attend the Conference, was not on the official list of V.I.Ps invited by U.N Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.⁴² It was seen to be believed when a dozen winners of the Nobel Peace Prize, invited by host Austria refused to take their seats to protest against the decision apparently taken under pressure from the Chinese Government, to bar the Dalai Lama from participation.⁴³

Undoubtedly, China violated the agenda first by opposing the participation of the Dalai Lama and then launching a frontal attack on the spiritual leader of the people of Tibet. The two-week U.N World Conference on human rights in Vienna should have degenerated into a war of words between different countries, with non-government organisations entering into fray, was perhaps only inevitable. The Conference in Vienna was riot, a lava of sufferings an array of anguished faces which had seen death and worse.⁴⁴ There was furore when an

invitation to the Dalai Lama to address the NGO's was withdrawn. "He must have his say" was the refrain of the demonstration. We should have patience and tolerance to hear others. Ultimately he spoke outside Conference Hall, to emphasise how the question of "particularising" human rights had become a central issue in the universe.⁴⁵ His Holiness said that it was wrong to base the concept of human rights on traditions and elaborated that all human beings are the same — they may be white, they may be black, even blue, but as far as rights are concerned we all have the same rights. His Holiness is justified in saying that it was not enough to be able to provide food to people. Human beings need freedom.⁴⁶ Subhash Kirpeker is quite pessimistic about the out-come of human rights at Vienna, when he analyses: In the summit itself and outside, the play of polemics and rhetoric makes one wonder if the almost irreconcilable differences can ever be resolved to facilitate the summit emerging with a final document on the protection and promotion of human rights in the 21st century.⁴⁷

The people talking of human rights dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima on August 6, 1945 and Nagasaki on August 9, 1945, thereby committing brutality against humanity. The piling up of atomic bombs and weapons by such people may not be in consonance with the humanitarianism. It looks odd when brute talks of human rights. God has given them the eyes but they are blind - blind to human miseries. We refuse to see the danger, even when we are sitting on a veritable mine field. The fact that the 'normal' people can get around, does not mean that they are seeing and hearing.⁴⁸ David Schuman elaborates: Both healthy minds and healthy bodies may be crippled. The fact that "normal" can get around, can see, can hear, does not mean that they are seeing or hearing. They can be very blind to the things that spoil their happiness, very deaf to the pleas of others for

kindness.⁴⁹ Such people behave like machines, rather they have become machines. Western Civilisation has made and continues to make great progress in material development, but if the techniques can also be created for achieving internal happiness, modern society will become far more advanced. Without such internal growth, we become enslaved to external things, and even though called humans, we become like parts of a machine.⁵⁰ The humans becoming tools and soul-less machines behave like aggressive machinery. The weaver becomes the web the machinist a machine.⁵¹

The Dalai Lama visited America for the first time during 1972 and gave impressions of his visit and the American psychology towards human misery. He was impressed by an atmosphere of liberty. The people seemed very friendly, open and relaxed. But at the same time, he could not help noticing how dirty and untidy some parts of the New York City were. He was sorry to see so many tramps and homeless people taking shelter in doorways. It amazed him that there could be any beggars in this vastly rich and prosperous city. He summed up by saying: In some ways, the American political system does not live up to its own ideals.⁵² We Easterners, look to the Western technology feeling that once we develop material progress, our people can reach some sort of permanent happiness. But when one sees the west closely one finds that underneath the beautiful surface there is still unhappiness. This shows that material progress alone is not the full answer for human beings.⁵³

All the miseries in rich countries and around them are because they ignore that :

*"All the wealth of worldly pleasures Are but a lessening of suffering, Or are only (creations of) thought, Thus they are in fact not real."*⁵⁴

Accumulation of wealth results in human miseries and leads to exploitation and ends in violation of human rights and de-humanise the human beings. The accumulation of wealth in itself may be an indication of injustice, inequality and unfair distribution of the world's resources. Experience may convince anyone that the wealth and treasures tend to de-humanise the people and erode the essential human values. However, India's saints, sages and philosophers regarded wealth as source of countless evils.

The dictators provided the world with some interesting lessons in their anger and fear of human rights concept. China, Indonesia, Syria, Iran and Cuba and like-minded countries have come out plain and clear about what they believe about this matter of human rights. Dictatorships correctly see human rights as a threat. But for the past half-century, the existence of the UN has created a strange illusion. In the struggle for human rights the democracies will delay or stumble or sometimes avoid the test. But only they can carry the fight. That is the lesson of Vienna.⁵⁵ These people are unable to see, the man-created deprivation, inhuman conditions of poverty in Tibet. The poor and disadvantaged who are denied their basic human rights, can see no meaning in liberty and freedom in un-congenial atmosphere.⁵⁶ The deeper human nature needs to breathe the air of liberty. We have common human needs and concerns. We all seek happiness and try to avoid suffering regardless of race. Human beings, indeed all sentient beings, have a right to pursue happiness and live in peace and in freedom. All human beings, whatever their cultural or historic background, suffer when they are intimidated, imprisoned or tortured.⁵⁷ Inhuman conditions have forced many Tibetans to seize the first opportunity to cross over from Tibet to India. One may appreciate the Tibetans Misery, feel inspired and have determination, to dispel the misery of the world, if he shares Dalai Lama's short prayer:

For as long as space endures, and for as long as living beings remain until then may I, too, abide to dispel the misery of the world.⁵⁸

The Tibetan nation is perhaps immortal and it shall stand deathless, as long as her people do not give up their morality and spirituality. They may remain poverty-stricken and away from their home but their spirit cannot be killed as they are the children of Lord Buddha. There are only two forces in the world, the sword and the spirit. In the long run the sword will always be conquered by the spirit.⁵⁹

Human Rights cut across all national boundaries and political frontiers and makes an appeal to every man as a citizen of the world. But man is essentially egoistic. Man also loves freedom.⁶⁰ Every man, except unfortunate few, can speak, express his idea, move about, associate with others, pray to God, and in the olden days occupy a vacant land and eke out his livelihood. These capacities exist in man without any aid from the State. Indeed the free use of such capacities, inherent in man is necessary for the development of his personality.⁶¹ However, Indian culture returns from nature to man and inspires in the mind of a United Assembly of man - Vision of the United Nations long before the United Nations. Rig Veda glorifies the United Assembly of man.⁶² Man, of course, has travelled for since crawling out of jungle and has learnt to stand erect, "a God - like form and force." Man has grown wings of thought, he can look at heaven and his "comrade stars." But this is not the end. Man has further milestones to pass, further heights to scale; man can indeed grow into God and live in the light of a spiritual sun.⁶³

R.W Emerson says: "We are always getting ready to live, but never living." However, Man is at a certain stage of evolution and is capable of knowing that stage.

He is also capable of taking steps to evolve upward to the next stage: a stage of superman. The process would, however, be easier and evolution speedier, if through integral Yoga man invoked the super-mind, which is the direct and operative agent in the matter of evolution.⁶⁴ Man in its essence is the manifestation of Reality. Like ourselves, every man is a spark of the same Reality. The need is to identify one-self with the joys and sorrows of others and thus expanding our being. Ultimately one may realise that the Great Reality prevades the entire universe.⁶⁵

But unfortunately Man today has become more 'closed' within himself, is selfish and self-centred. In this world of materialism, material wealth determines social status as also means to survive. There appears to be a continuous race to adjust one's scarce means with unlimited demands. Otherwise also it is struggle for supermacy and survival. Man has given priority to economic gains and in the process has sacrificed his obligations towards humanity. His actions are abnormal, his thinking corrupt and intentions selfish. Man is after economic gains. By actions man has justified the claim of Blaise Pascal : "Man is no more than a reed, the weakest in nature. But he is a thinking reed."⁶⁶ But his thinking as on today appears to be perverse.

Man in his essence is not different from another. The man by true religious teachings can turn out a human-being in the real sense.⁶⁷ Thus from the remnants of the wisdom of Lord Buddha in Tibet - His teachings deserve to be carried to every human being on this globe, with a view to make man - a true man. The human-being of today and the human-being several thousand years ago is the same. The basic human nature remains the same - compassion. Dalai Lama is justified in saying that love, affection and compassion is intrinsic in very human nature.⁶⁸ Such love, affection and compassion is common

to all human beings, which takes man to humanitarianism. Humanitarianism and true love for all being can only stem from an awareness of the content of religion.⁶⁹

The U.S A emerged as one of the biggest violator of human rights in the global survey of 161 countries made by Amnesty international. The forms of torture in prisons and excessive force by police is almost unparallel. The world has witnessed human rights violations of allies being greeted with silence while those of declared enemies were met with public condemnations, sometimes with action. The U.S.A is acting on the principle of "might is right" and is concerned only about the Americans and American interests. America appears to have turned its back, to human rights violation in Tibet perhaps with a view to win over China. The American administration concern for self-interest, in "freedom-loving America" is an eloquent testimony to the chasm between preaching safeguard of human rights and practising quite opposite and projecting itself as champion of human rights. Human rights activists are of the view that U.S is not bothered about its own human rights record as it is an aid- giving country and not an aid-receiving country.⁷⁰ The U.S.A. is one doctor who refuses to heal himself and the most advanced and civilised country of the world is yet to shed the barbaric notion that might is right.⁷¹

The people who are talking of human-rights and humanity at high pitch, have materialistic approach in life. These people need the teachings of Lord Buddha. Those who cannot see or perceive the violation of human rights in the actual use of atomic bombs and dumping of Nuclear Waste on the lands of other people - treating them different from themselves, how can it be expected of such people to see the violation of human rights- When such people speak of human rights and its violation and humanity, there is always a selfish motive behind such a talk. They deserve to be taught the teachings of

Ahimsa and non-violence, as perceived and practised by Lord Buddha - Christ and Gandhi, to make the world of ours beautiful. The whole world today is looking forward to the home of wisdom - the land of Dalai Lama, the Noble Prize Winner, for its message of love, compassion and for inspiration of spiritual life and divinity.

Dalai Lama speaks with courage of conviction when he criticises the Latest U.S missile attack on Iraq as "very, very unfortunate" and wished the United States of America could have found less violent ways to increase pressure on Mr. Saddam Hussein.⁷² He even supports linking the renewal of most favoured nation trading status for China with improvement in human rights.⁷³ However, there is nothing wrong when he insists on the "protection of Tibet's distinctive religious and cultural heritage" as one of the conditions for renewal of China's most favoured nation status in 1994-95.⁷⁴ The concept of Human Rights can be gleaned, perceived and understood in its real sense from the lives of such noble souls who have practised the same during their life time. The people who treat themselves as humble Buddhist Bhikshus and not only believe in such rights but also practise the same, are the real guide and guarantee for Human Rights, which according to them also mean the freedom to live humanly.

Dalai Lama who believes in the need for better understanding, closer co-operation and greater respect among the various nations of the world, on september 21, 1987 at the Congressional Human Rights Cacucus in Washington, announced a Five Point Peace Plan for Tibet and called for the conversion of Tibet into a zone of peace, in which humanity and nature can live together in harmony. He further called for respect for human rights and democratic ideals, environment protection and a halt to the Chinese population transfer into Tibet.⁷⁵ Undoubtedly the Tibet's unique history and profound

spiritual heritage render it ideally suited for fulfilling the role of a sanctuary of peace in the heart of Asia & will become a free heaven where humanity and nature live in harmonious balance.⁷⁶

The world has undergone a metamorphic change. United States of America has emerged as the only super power, the Clinton Administration, must not betray those who had been drawing inspiration from the crusaders for liberty. The idea of human free will is in all religions and it provides the basis for individual liberty without which there can be no true democracy.⁷⁷ A stage arrives when the large masses of people who are denied their basic democratic and human rights, find no meaning in freedom and liberty.⁷⁸ Andrew Hamilton, one of the most eloquent advocates of liberty and an eighteenth century crusader for American independence, has observed, "the loss of liberty to a generous mind is worse than death." President Clinton should not allow Tibet to bleed to death.⁷⁹ U.S. Senator Patrick Moynihan in a strong statement on May 28, 1993, said: "Today President Clinton has made history. He has told congress that the movement of Chinese to Tibet threatens Tibet's unique identity and culture. He has not submerged this issue within others. It stands alone as a separate MFN condition, a stark declaration - for the first time since the invasion of Tibet - that the Chinese subjugation of Tibet is a central issue in our relations."⁸⁰ Tibetans are eagerly looking towards India for a helping hand towards Tibet's liberation and saving Tibetans from Human Rights violations. Shri Jai Parkash Narayan speaking at a meeting on September 1, 1964, held under the auspices of the Indian Council of World Affairs, said: "I am still of the opinion I expressed in 1959 that India should support the cause of Tibet at the United Nations, and not remain neutral as in years before. It is both a case of cultural genocide and negation of the right of self-determination. We should support Tibet on both points at the U.N. even after we have

settled our border dispute with China, or engage in talks with China for that purpose."⁸¹ Tibetan issue was high on the international agenda and it was time to abide by the advise rendered by Jai Parkash Narayan more than three decades back. Indian Government should contribute its bit by bringing the two sides-Chinese and Tibetans on the negotiating table.⁸² We stand at the threshold of a new century. It is, indeed there on the horizon for us all to see and also to visualise a new world order, reflecting the oneness and universality of the mankind and the human race. Human Rights are considered as a matter of international concern, deserve to be given meaning to promote human happiness and bring peace. It is the time to remind our generation that we are still knotted in the "hour before the gods awake." The "hour before the dawn" is, in fact, all human history including the present when, notwithstanding the march of science and the blessings of "Civilisation", actually there is heavy disillusion, a feeling of fatality, a cowering before the grim nuclear horror, almost a benumbed readiness to be overwhelmed by the creeping catastrophe. All history, especially current human history, is "the hour before the gods awake." Mind that was once the helper now bars the way even to survival. In this dark night of the Mind's ultimate failure, earth and man await descent or emergence of a superior power super mind.⁸³ Knowledge without wisdom, mind without soul leads to destruction.⁸⁴

Luckily, the entire concept of human rights is the betterment and upliftment of the humanity as a whole. Humanity is more important than technology. Technology is merely there to assist humanity and is subservient to it. But humanity is not composed of bodies-black and white, yellow and brown, male and female. Humanity is also not composed of minds - scientific, artistic, philosophic, political. Humanity is composed of souls-every soul a divine spark, the whole of the humanity animated by the same universal essence, the same divine energy. We all

recognise that God is everywhere, that God speaks through the sage and sings through the poet and acts through the saint. But He also sweeps through the scavenger, and cooks in the kitchen and is the beggar in the street. He is omnipresent.⁸⁵ The concept of common heritage of mankind which is presently used in outer space, needs not only to be expanded to non-tangible resources, e.g. geo-stationary orbit, solar energy, radio frequencies but to many other fields. All the resources given to the mankind by mother earth and in the space deserve to be declared as common heritages of mankind, so that there can be equitable sharing of such resources -which will ultimately lead to the development of the humanity and safeguarding the human rights. Lopsided growth in the personality is an ugliness which ruins the chistled beauty of the perfect man.⁸⁶ Only the developed and rich nations can not be permitted to corner all the resources given to the mankind as common heritage.

There is a growing awareness of people's responsibilities to each other and to the planet we share. However, a tremendous and popular movement for advancement of human rights and democratic freedoms in the world, is being witnessed. His Holiness strongly believes that individuals can make a difference in society. Every individual has a responsibility to help guide our global family in the right direction and we must each assume that responsibility. Every individual should try to develop compassion within himself.⁸⁷ Professor Jeffrey Hopkins called upon the world to recognise the contribution of techniques developed in the religions for cultivating harmonious attitudes, and consider the delicacy of the present world situation and work, on individual level, at re-shaping attitudes for a better society.⁸⁸

The issue of Tibet is not barely a question of the very survival of the people of Tibet but has a direct bearing on the world peace, in view of China's unabated "battle

for uranium" in Tibet. The time is opportune to mobilise world public opinion and to take initiative to bring both the China and Tibet at the negotiating table. The constructive dialogue, without pre-conditions, between the Chinese authorities and His Holiness the Dalai Lama and his aides is necessary. It is the time to restore peace, to bring to an end the abuse of human rights and let Tibet have its independence - as nothing is more precious than freedom and independence. This will pave way for the free return of H.H. Dalai Lama from exile, alongwith other Tibetans in exile; end of the Chinese control and the cessation of human rights abuses and the establishment of an independent Tibetan democratic State.

His Holiness Dalai Lama, Tibet's spiritual Leader made it clear that the demand of Tibet's complete independence from china would be legitimate. However, in the present circumstances, the immediate task is to save the unique cultural heritage and distinct identity of Tibet as at this juncture when the identity of Tibet as a nation was at stake and when its ecology, environment and millenia - old culture were on the verge of extinction, the demand for total independence would look like a 'luxury'.⁸⁹ This latest flexible stand taken by His Holiness can certainly pave way for a dialogue between China and Tibet and at least Tibet can have autonomy with foreign affairs, and defence for the time-being under the control of China with a condition that the China's armed forces will leave Tibet in a phased manner in due course of time. The sad lot of courageous and unfortunate Tibetan refugees cannot be ignored and forgotten by the world community. The Tibetan refugees have a right to go back to their roots, to return to their native land with its right to independence and self determination, asserted His Holiness the John Paul II during his 10 day tour of Asia and pacific in May, 1984.⁹⁰

For the restoration of human rights in Tibet, it is necessary that Tibetans administer their affairs. To improve

relations between the Tibetan and the Chinese people, the first and the foremost requirement is creation of trust. The withdrawal of Chinese troops is likely to start a genuine process of reconciliation. For the Tibetans to survive as a Tibetans, it is imperative that the population transfer be stopped, and the Chinese settlers return to China.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

URANIUM IN TIBET : A DANGER TO HUMANITY

Uranium a heavy white metal with radioactive properties - source of atomic energy, was never a threat to world peace in Buddhist Tibet but now may be a great danger even to the survival of humanity. China after its forcible occupation of Tibet not only made it a dumping yard of nuclear waste but also have started exploring and excavating uranium.

The Chinese occupation and militarisation of Tibet, the large influx of Chinese settlers and the colonial exploitation of Tibet's natural resources in total disregard of environmental consequences is having devastating effects on the environment. Nuclear testing and weapons production, uranium mining, and dumping of hazardous waste is having predictably dangerous effects on human and animal life in some parts of Tibet.¹ China is reported to have stationed approximately 90 nuclear warheads in Tibet. The Ninth Academy, China's North-west Nuclear Weapons Research and Design Academy in Tibet's north-eastern area of Amdo, is reported to have dumped an unknown quantity of radioactive waste on the Tibetan plateau. Waste disposal methods were reported to be casual in the extreme. Initially, waste was put in shallow, unlined landfills.... The nature and quantity of radioactive waste generated by the Ninth Academy is still unknown....

During the 1960s and 1970s nuclear waste from the facility was disposed of in a roughshod and haphazard manner. Nuclear waste from the Academy would have taken a variety of forms - liquid slurry, as well as solid and gaseous waste. Liquid or solid waste would have been in adjacent land or water sites.² China is believed to have nuclear manufacturing centres at Dhashu in Amdo. China's primary weapon research and design facility in Dhashu was constructed in the early sixties. It was responsible for designing all China's nuclear bombs through the mid-seventies. It also served as a research centre for detonation development, radiochemistry and many other nuclear weapons related activities. It also assembled components of nuclear weapons. The first nuclear weapon was brought onto the Tibetan plateau in 1971 and stationed in the Tsaidam basin, in northern Amdo. China currently has approximately 300-400 nuclear warheads, of which several dozens are believed to be in Tibet.³

The dumping of nuclear wastes in the Tibet's land is a disturbing feature. Humanity in Tibet looks like hell bent on whole-sale harakiri by dumping Nuclear waste and massive deforestation have led to ecological devastation and degradation of environment. Man is both creature and moulder of his environment which gives him physical sustenance and affords him opportunity for intellectual, moral, social and spiritual growth.⁴ Both the aspects of man's environment, the natural and man made, are essential to well being of the man and to the enjoyment of basic human rights - even the right to life.⁵ However, the protection and improvement of human environment is one of the major issues which affects the well-being of people and economic development throughout the world.⁶ A point has reached in history when we must shape our actions throughout the world with a more prudent case for their environmental

consequences. Through ignorance, indifference or even intentionally none can be permitted to do massive and irreversible harm to the earthly environment on which our very life and well-being depend.⁷ As long as mankind continues to exploit nature in a blind and barbarous way, it will be constantly threatened by ecological ruin.⁸

The State of World, a recent report specifically notes, "The environmental revolution is the product of seeing ourselves again as part of nature rather than apart from nature." With man kind all over the world becoming acutely conscious of the global threat posed by ecological imbalances and environmental degradation, it is pity that it is not taken note of in Tibet.

Nuclear weapons are the very antithesis of Tibetan cultural tradition and spirit. Free Tibet will have no place for such armaments of mass destruction. It is in view of this fact that the Dalai Lama said in his Strasbourg Proposal of 15 June, 1988 :

My country's unique history and profound spiritual heritage render it ideally suited for fulfilling the role of a sanctuary of peace at the heart of Asia. Its historic status as a neutral buffer state, contributing to the stability of the entire continent, can be restored. Peace and security for Asia as well as for the world at large can be enhanced. In the future, Tibet need no longer be an occupied land, oppressed by force, unproductive and scarred by suffering. It can become a free heaven where humanity and nature live in harmonious balance; a creative model for the resolution of tensions afflicting many areas throughout the world.⁹

China is in full control of Uranium rich Tibet. China has proven nuclear capabilities. According to U.S. experts,

China has conducted more than thirty seven known nuclear weapons tests and over two hundred possible tests since it exploded its first atomic bomb in October, 1964, making it the world's fifth declared nuclear power. Stan Norris, a nuclear weapons expert with the Washington — based Natural Resources Defence Council, said in March 1992, that China had between two hundred twenty five and three hundred twenty five nuclear war heads. Stan Norris added that most of China's nuclear forces are land - based missiles with one war head aimed at Asian targets, including India. In May, 1992, China conducted its biggest ever nuclear test during the India's President's State visit to Beijing. China's arsenal may also include a short - range ballistic missile called M9 which is said to be targeted towards its neighbours.¹⁰

Uranium in Buddhist Tibet and now in Communist Tibet has made a world of difference. When it was Buddhist, it remained peaceful. The many sacred paintings and prayer banners in Tibet have representations of demons and fierce dieties, but their power has been converted for the welfare of the man and still in all its might it is used for the destruction of ignorance.¹¹ Because of the teachings of Buddhism, which they have practised the Uranium is likely to be used for peaceful purposes. Ngawong Gyatse the fifth Gyatwa Rinpeche (1617-82) established the rule of religion - the rule was a dedication of entire nation to a religious principle into practice that has always been Tibet's greatest force of strength. There has never been any police force in Tibet, no means of enforcing laws by use of physical strength. The rule of religion has always depended solely on the religious fervour of the people themselves, and this is something that cannot be imposed from outside. In following the laws of the country, in accepting the rule of religion, the Tibetan is only following his own religious inclinations, and in so doing he sees that benefit will follow both for

the nation as a whole and for himself as an individual. To be a good, patriotic citizen, a Tibetan has only to be a good Buddhist, no more and no less is demanded of him.¹²

Now as a part of communist China, uranium in Tibet is a threat to the very globe itself and ultimately the war may not be averted. It is a monumental tragedy but wars and horrendous acts of violence have for centuries been a part of human life. Though humanity longs for the day when war is totally eliminated from the face of the earth, because war is an evil and represents nothing but the vulgar stupidity of man. War cannot be for peace. Man being what he is, efforts to avoid war has, proved fruitless. So long as work is possible with all its possible evils overtaking us, we have got to be pragmatic and see to it that Tibet reverts back to Buddhism and that may be possible by an independent and free Tibet without any hold of China. His Holiness Dalai Lama on June 26, 1989 at Sam Jose Costa Rica said: "My country, Tibet lived in peace and harmony, our people never having seen a modern army or police force until the Chinese invasion. Today, it is my hope and dream that the entire Tibetan Plateau will someday be transformed into a true peace sanctuary; an entirely demilitarised area and the world's largest natural park or biosphere - a place where human beings and nature can live in peaceful harmony and where resources are devoted to the pursuit and promotion of peace. If we succeed, we will be a little closer to achieving world peace. We Tibetans are committed to create such an oasis in the very heart of Asia, if indeed we are permitted to do so. The Tibetan peace sanctuary would not only benefit the Tibetan people and future generations of Tibetans, it would be our gift to the world, our contribution to world peace."¹³ Dr. Rajendra Prasad, first President of India, in his Last Public speech on 24th October, 1962, deserves to

be given a meaning to, when he said: "Freedom is the most sacred boon. It has to be protected. Tibet has to be liberated from iron grip of China and handed over to the Tibetans."

Sardar Patel long ago on November 9, 1950, criticised Chinese Policy towards Tibet when he said, "Nobody can say what the outcome of Chinese action in Tibet will be. But the use of force ultimately creates more fear and tension. It is possible that when a country gets drunk with its own military strength and power, it does not think calmly over all issues."¹⁴

It was none else but China alone who was interested in Uranium rich Tibet to emerge as Atomic world power. The events of the last four and a half decades may convince any reasonable person that Sardar Patel has proved to be justified in his assessment about China. China has always considered strong conventional armed forces alongwith nuclear and thermonuclear weapons as an essential ingredient for its national security.¹⁵

In 1988, China carried out in Tibet what the Jisfengjun Bao' on 16th September, 1988 called "Chemical defence manoeuvres in high altitude zone to test newly developed equipment."¹⁶ Official Chinese pronouncements have confirmed the existence in Tibet of the biggest uranium reserves in the world. Reports say that Uranium is processed in Tibet itself and that many local Tibetans died after drinking contaminated water near a uranium mine in Nagapa, Amdo.¹⁷ Beijing is committed to the extension of Chinese nuclear power in Tibet under its grip. The missile age has liberated warfare from absolute geographical constraints and Chinese war-planning and military activity has to be reassessed in the light of the tactical and intercontinental nuclear missiles which have been deployed in Tibet.¹⁸

Uranium rich Tibet under China's control is likely to endanger the world peace and is likely to escalate not only war-like atmosphere but war itself. But uranium under a free independent Buddhist Tibet can lead to peace and is likely to be used for peaceful purposes.

The development in Tibet during the last 45 years, under the Chinese thumb, may be seen and understood in the perspective of what Dr. Sun Yat Sen, the great Chinese philosopher said in 1924: "For thousands of years China had been trying to effect a conquest of the world China once wanted to be sovereign Lord for the earth and to stand above every other nation." This in his view, was imperialism, even if some people called it cosmopolitanism.¹⁹ In fact, Dr. Sun Yat Sen emphasised it was this imperialism that had brought about the downfall of China. He added : "The hidden causes of China's decay lie in the fact that China was for millenniums in imperialistic State²⁰ The ardent wish of Dr. Sun Yat Sen was that China should be content to live in her own vast home and never tread the path of imperialism. He wished that China should cure herself of the old vice and not become once again an expanding imperialism. Dr. Sun Yat Sen declared that, "The road on which the Great Powers are travelling to-day, means that destruction of other States; if China, when she becomes strong, wants to crush other countries, copy the Great Powers' imperialism, she will be a great disadvantage to the world and not an advantage."²¹ The present Communist Chinese rulers have not heeded to the advice of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, which he feared - his beloved China becoming a disadvantage to the world - has come out to be true. Even Lord C.R. Attlee, the former Prime Minister of Great Britain in a message dated July 30, 1964, reminded that, "Indians need to realise that imperialism and colonialism are not practised solely by Europeans. There are two outstanding Asiatic examples: One is the attack

on Malaysia by Indonesia. The other is the Chinese communist oppression on Tibet. It is vitally important that Indians should show their concern in these matters and particularly should take a strong line in the United Nations Organisations. The Tibetans have the right to follow their own way of life without interference by Chinese based on ancient claim of suzerainty long gone into disuetude."²² Four decades ago, the Chinese launched an invasion of Tibet professedly to free Tibetans from imperialist oppression but implicitly to destroy in whole the Tibetan: culture and nationality. To the vast majority of Tibetans, sturdily independent, this was a stunning blow. Unfortunately, the emergence of imperialist and colonist China as a nuclear power has for long time been played down, although it was accepted in 1960's that China had built up a substantial nuclear stockpile. In Tibet the Chinese have found an ideal hideout for the nuclear experiments for the obvious reasons that Chang Thang in Tibet is an ideal site for nuclear testing; Tibet is the most "sparsely populated region and the danger of radio - activity fallout to Chinese population has been minimised; Tibet literally remained covered by thick black clouds most time of the year and natural cover prevents aerial snooping from satellites: Thus the "roof of the world" has proved useful for exploring, exploitation of Uranium and for stock - piling and underground testing. The underground atomic testing is likely to development of a "seismic bomb".

A "seismic bomb" that could be exploded underground may devastate the enemy country with earthquakes and tidal waves. The idea first emerged in the sixties when soviet seismologists were sometimes followed a few days later by earthquakes, often hundred of miles away. Scientists subsequently exploded 32 nuclear bombs around the soviet union to test seismic effects. Once the military learned in the eighties that underground nuclear shockwave

might be harnessed into a weapon, civilian geologists were given generous research grants. Alexei Yablokov, Boris Yelstin's adviser on ecological matters, said, "Officially, these explosions were carried out in the interests of a better understanding of the earth's geological structure. But everyone suspected the military was looking for a seismic weapon, even though it seemed like science fiction."²³

Until the break-up of the Soviet Union, China was a sleeping giant, but since then it has shown signs of emerging as a highly militarised and nuclear society - close to asserting its right to "Superpowerdom."²⁴ The China wants to proceed towards super power where the communist Russia has left and has even shown keen interest in bringing a new line of Tupolev tactical strike aircraft from Russia, China had sounded Russia to long the Tupolev TU-22M backfire supersonic tactical strike aircraft to replace some of the ageing Tupolev TU-16 Badger bombers.^{24a} However, so far as the nuclear device is concerned. The United Nations, Russia, Britain, France and China - have detonated a nuclear device before 1968, are designated as 'nuclear powers', and are undoubtedly free to develop nuclear potential. While China may today have renounced first use of a nuclear power with very sophisticated nuclear technology,²⁵ has extended its uranium resources after occupation of Tibet. China as on today is not only exploring, mining and excavating its own Uranium but also uranium rich Tibet. According to the Chinese documents, there are over 160 mineral resources in Tibet, some with high commercial value. This includes Uranium.²⁶ In 1982, Tibet's Communist Party Chief Yin Fatang revealed that the biggest uranium reserves in the world are locked in the mountains of Lhasa. Although their actual value will not be known for years, the fact remains that it is going to prove the future resources reserve bank of Tibet.²⁷ Shri P.K. Ayengar,

Former Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission in a recent write up explains that : It was only in the early part of this century, the scientists understood that it was due to nuclear processes - the sun shines. By 1932 scientists had discovered the constituents of the nucleus. The splitting of the Uranium nucleus, releasing large amounts of energy, was first demonstrated in 1939. The first energy producing nuclear reactor was built by Enrico Fermi in 1942 on the squash courts of the University of Chicago. During the second World War immigrant scientists in the United States, especially the Hungarian Leo Szilard, thought about making an atomic bomb as the ultimate weapon to defeat Hitler. They influenced Einstein to propose the manufacture of such a device to the President of the United States, and by 1945 atom bombs were used to destroy Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan, bringing to an end the terrible war.²⁸ lakhs of human beings were killed and maimed. Since then Uranium has been a nightmarish tool of politics and the countries are designated as nuclear, haves and 'have - nots'.

Man has not learnt a lesson from the atomic holocaust of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The accumulation of huge quantities of deadlier nuclear weapons is on the increase and threat of nuclear war is still looming large. Use of nuclear weapons will not only destroy human civilisation but is also likely to cause irreparable damage to our planet and very life on the earth. The main ecological consequence of nuclear explosion include mass radiation, contaminating the vast areas.

Tibet, prior to the Chinese invasion, was an unspoiled wilderness sanctuary in a unique natural environment. China as on to-day uses Tibet for mining, exploration of uranium and production of nuclear weapons. China also has started dumping nuclear waste in Tibet. The dangers are obvious. Not only present generations, but future

generations are threatened by China's lack of concern for Tibet's unique and delicate environment and has posed danger to the very humanity itself.

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CHAPTER NINE

DEMOCRACY : AS VISUALISED BY TIBETANS IN EXILE

Tibet today is no longer the same Tibet, as before becoming an 'autonomous region' of the Chinese Republic. It has been radically changed, from Tibet's administration under the Dalai Lamas as spiritual and temporal heads. Tibet has become the scene of profound upheavels. The Tibetan population in Tibet as also those in exile are striving hard for their independence and freedom of Tibet. However, on account of persistent efforts of the Tibetan people, there is better understanding and support for the Tibetan cause, in the world. In the changing world scenario, the Chinese leadership may have no other alternative except to come to negotiating table. Talks and negotiations are likely to lead to better understanding between the two disputants - Tibetans and Chinese. Of course, the talks and negotiations are the essence of democracy. Democracy makes unique provision for the peaceful settlement of disputes, the maintenance of order, and the working out the public policies, by means of its "honest broker" on compromise function.¹ According to George Farnandes, Democracy by definition includes dialogue. Solutions to Tibet's many fold problems have to be found through, among other things, through a dialogue.² However, democracy demands tolerance, understanding, mutual respect and adjustment- at the times of stress and patience.³ Democracy is a

proximate solution for different problems. The tolerance, patience and readiness for talks and support that Tibet's cause has received throughout the world, a peaceful solution to the question of Tibet may not be a far cry. Bilateral talks and negotiations are likely to lead to an amicable, peaceful solution to the question of Tibet and ultimately lead to people of Tibetan race and culture to be re-united, in a free Tibet.

His Holiness The Dalai Lama is hopeful that as a consequence of dialogue and mutual understanding the present totalitarian system of centralised democracy will give way to a true democracy under which the three provinces of Tibet, namely, U-Tsong, Kham and Arudo will enjoy the freedom of thought, expression and movement. Tibetan democracy will derive its inspiration from the Buddhist principles of compassion, justice and equity.⁴

The past events of more than four decades convinces any rational person that the Chinese army after gaining full control of Tibet, used brutal force to suppress the Tibetan resistance—first in Kham and Arudo regions and finally in the whole of Tibet by March, 1959. The Dalai Lama and his companions were compelled to seek refuge in India, in order to continue their struggle for the cause of Tibet—its liberation which to be achieved by peaceful and democratic means. The democratisation process was difficult, more so when the Tibetans were scattered and in exile.

However, on October 2, 1960, The Dalai Lama inaugurated the Commission of Tibetan People's Deputies—the highest legislative body of the Government. Membership of this body was open to three freely elected representatives of three regions of Tibet, U-Tsang, Arudo and Kham. Each of the main traditions within Tibetan Buddhism likewise had seats. Later the followers of the

old Bon religion were also included to promote democracy.⁵ Since then Tibetans had eleven such Assemblies. In 1961, The Dalai Lama promulgated the Constitution.

In 1963 an even more comprehensive draft Constitution was announced. It was an attempt to further democratise, the exiled Tibetans Administration. The Assembly of Tibetan People was entrusted with authority to abolish the traditional kim polar system of appointing monk and lay officials to each position. The Assembly also annulled all the hereditary titles and prerogatives granted to small group of peoples under the old system. The draft Constitution also permitted a council of Regents to assume the powers of The Dalai Lama under specific circumstances if it was seen to be in the highest interest of the nation.⁶ Dalai Lama elaborates that in future The Dalai Lama will not hold any official position in the Government and will be like some sort of public figure who may be called on to offer advice or resolve some particularly significant and difficult problem which could not be overcome by existing government or by political mechanism.⁷ There may be conflicting views on the matters relating to the status of Dalai Lama and other such like matters. However, any nation which embraces democracy is bound to suffer conflicts in the initial stages of its development, because the democracy is not a pre-fabricated mould that a country can fit into. Tibetans will have to learn to cope with the conflicts as democracy prescribes a process of learning and evolving institutions and practices which may suit the nation's particular traits. As such democracy is not un-impeachable ideal. It does not make the people wise and good, kind and caring. It merely gives an opportunity.⁸ The democracy may not be perfect but it is the best, atleast for the Tibetans.

His Holiness The Dalai Lama, spiritual and temporal leader of Tibet as on today, in such a democratic political set up, will perhaps be holding advisory position as that

of Mahatama Gandhi - who was amongst India's foremost philosophers, having wisdom of Socrates, the humility of St. Francis of Assisi, the saintliness of ancient Indian rishis and the profound love and humility of Buddha. His Holiness, The Dalai Lama is also perceived by many, as embodiment of Lord Buddha and his struggle for Tibet's independence is non-violent, peaceful and against injustice and he never bore any ill will towards anyone, including the Chinese. He believes that: All human beings are same and are members of one big human family. Human beings desire happiness. Happiness depends on mental happiness and peace of mind. He considers the Human compassion or human affection as the basis for human survival.⁹ The Dalai Lama has rightly and justifiably assigned to himself the role of 'Philosopher and Guide' - the role of Mahatama Gandhi of the modern times and Shri Krishna of the ancient medieval times - Mahabharat era. The Dalai Lama is not likely to participate in government if Tibetans achieve their political goal. The Dalai Lama has always been attracted to Gandhi's way who remained a key figure till India's freedom was achieved and became aloof for politics as soon as independence was achieved. That is the proper way.¹⁰

The guidelines for future of Tibet's policy and basic structure of its Constitution envisage a transistional period before the adoption of its Constitution i.e., on withdrawal of Chinese forces from Tibet's mainland and Tibet's regaining its independence. During such transistional period the existing administration in Tibet, with all its Tibetan functionaries, will be retained to look after such affairs of the State, such as health, economy, education, culture, transport and communications. Tibetans officials presently working under the Chinese should keep themselves ready to assume full responsibility and taking over of the complete administration from the Chinese. The interim government will be headed by a President,

who will assume all the political powers presently held by Dalai Lama. The present Tibetan administration in exile shall be deemed to have been dissolved. The officials of exiled Administration may, however, willingly accept whatever responsibilities are entrusted to them in view of their world wide experience, abilities and qualifications.¹¹

The principle responsibility of the transitional government will be to form a Constituent Assembly with representatives from all parts of Tibet. The Constituent Assembly, in turn, will prepare Tibet's new Constitution on the basis of various drafts prepared in exile, to be adopted only with the assent of the Interim President.¹² On these guidelines, the future democratic set-up shall be formed. The guidelines have been prepared consciously knowing fully well that democracy implies self-determination and independence from control by any external authority. The possibility of external control even by remote control has been eliminated. It has been fully realised that democracy also implies social equality, absence of privilege and preference on any ground whatsoever. Democracy is a tool, merely a tool and may be put to any use, but even here, since some tools are more specialized than others, all tools cannot be put to all uses; and surely democracy, even if 'merely a method', must be put in the category of instruments which can be put only to certain uses. As such democracy is often regarded as just instrumental, to be used to achieve any ends which the majority of representatives and voters wish to achieve.

Everyone has natural rights, so also Tibetans, to control government and that this right is recognised only in democracy: therefore Democracy is the best form of government.¹⁴ The Dalai Lama is not likely to accept any post in such a would be government. The reason appears to be that the Chinese are trying to present Tibet as having no problems and that the only problem is the

Dalai Lama who wants to reimpose the old system and who is mainly concerned with his own position. The Dalai Lama as a temporal ruler, is a man made institution. This institution was not made by God or Chinese people, but by the Tibetan people. The institution will remain and continue so long as the Tibetans find this institution to be useful.¹⁵ Today the Tibetans are justified in believing that democracy will be more helpful for them. It has been fully realised that democracy is a government by debate, discussion and consensus.

The world is celebrating the 2500th anniversary of birth of democracy, this year, and it is coincidence that Tibet is contemplating changing from feudalism to democracy after about two and half millienum. It really is a great leap forward. Under feudal system prevalent in Tibet, men, beast, land and all property belonged to the Dalai Lama - the living Buddha - the God precious and the king, whose wishes and orders were the force of law.¹⁶ Dr. Andne Migot, a French medical practitioner, who visited China and Tibet after World War II, in his classical work "Tibetan Marches", wrote:¹⁷ "In a country organised on feudal lines, power should have been concentrated in the hands of leaders of these great religious communities. They have used their power wisely and humanely; Tibet, where social harmony prevails and wars have been rare, deserves to rank as one of the best governed countries in the world." Because of their religious background of tolerance, non-violence, love and compassion a feudal Tibet was best governed government. Undoubtedly the democratic future set up of the Tibet shall be equally good. It is due to their belief in Buddhism. Buddha's teaching is that you are your own master; everything depends on yourself. This means that pleasure and pain arise from virtuous and non-virtuous actions which come not from outside but from within. This theory is very useful in daily life, for once one believes in the relationship

between actions and their effects, whether there is an external policeman or not, one will always be alert and examine oneself.¹⁸ Belief in and practice of Buddhism appears to be one of the reasons of a good feudal government and their faith will definitely lead them to a better democratic government. The Institutions are always judged by accomplishments achieved through them.

Tibetan regime, prior to China's occupation was never hereditary. A search for Dalai Lama, according to the prescribed norms used to be conducted, then found and thereafter trained and educated. The Dalai Lama, head of both the spiritual and secular administration, was found through a system of reincarnation that ensured that the rule of Tibet did not become hereditary. Most of the Dalai Lamas, including the Thirteenth and the Fourteenth, came from common, peasant families in remote Tibet.¹⁹

His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama the incarnation of Lord Buddha like other Buddhists believe in "Om Mani padme hum." The fundamental Conscious Principle, is pointed out as "Om."²⁰ The fathers of our ancient culture, in trying to quench the thirst for knowledge in the disciple class of seekers, had to point out the Absolute Truth through the various manifestations, through which the Reality seems to express the same.²¹ Even if a million philosophical schools were to declare anything against the Absolute Reality, the false cannot become the real. Reality does not exist because of its supporters nor can we harm the truth because of a majority opinion to the contrary. In Democracy majority rules and democracy does not function in this realm of the Absolute. Truth reins supreme whether we vote for or against it.²²

Tibet is likely to adopt democratic form of government, at the time when in democracies, both the character and nucleus of politics have changed, altering the traditional

relationship between the State and the individual. The citizen finds, and is forced to find, an intermediary between him and the power establishment. He loses out if there is no suitable vested interest group with which he could identify himself, for today every interest, even those which were not long ago held to be intimate and private, finds expression in one interested group or another. The paradox of present-day politics is that the government does not matter and the citizen does not matter; only interests matter. The triumph of interest over ideology, of pragmatism over innovation and ideas and adhocism over policy making is adversely affecting the societies. Even the national decisions are these days taken or influenced by interest groups within a country or by outside agencies and governments. The nation-State is withering away, ideology is dead, politics is irrelevant and interests are the prime movers of a country. The crisis is of conscience and morality. Need is to find the moral solutions, to political, economic and other problems and to find better humans in power, in politics, in public life.²³ It is to be seen how the future of Tibet Polity and basic feature of its democratic constitution reconcile with the Absolute truth and interest based world of today.

It is now universally accepted that Constitution is, in every sense, the supreme law, the law-makers being the people themselves in whom the residuum of political and sovereignty resides.²⁴ The supremacy of the Constitution lies mostly in its indestructible nature. While other laws change in course of time, the law of Constitution endures inspite of the buffets of time, though sometimes it may have to adapt itself to changing times. As Mr. Justice Holmes of the U.S. Supreme Court puts it "Constitution is not a document of fastidious dialectics, but means of ordering the life of a people. It is an organic growth."²⁵ A Constitution must be permitted to grow with the growth

of the nation. Too rigid a Constitution which is unalterable by nature is as bad as the one which is easily alterable. Not only constitution themselves, but the process by which they can be changed requires adaptation to changed circumstances. In short, a Constitution must adapt itself to the changing needs of the time.²⁶

The future Tibetan political system, a multi-party system of Parliament is hoped, will have three organs of government, namely, legislature, executive and judiciary, with a clear separation of powers between them, each independent of the other and vested with equal powers and authority, to enable the three organs to work as checks and balance. However, the simultaneous practice of democracy and truth amounts to tight rope walking expertise. The truth being the religious mandate for the Tibetans and democracy - a political constitutional means to govern themselves. Much will depend upon the operators of the Constitution - the political executive, the bureaucrats and the Judiciary. It is the spirit that is needed to be the guiding factor. Even the letter of the Constitution cannot be permitted to be ignored to meet the political exigencies. The Judiciary undoubtedly represents the democratic values and culture of the country. It is not mere adornment of values but an expression of fundamental values.²⁷ No democracy can survive if justice becomes a mirage. The law in its majesty, is being used as a mighty weapon of democracy to bring the Government nearer to the millennium - the social and economic justice to the millions who may see things with ignorance.²⁸ In democracy not only judiciary but the Government as a whole should be easily accessible to the people, to enable it to know the ground realities and work accordingly.

However, the basic structure of a Constitution must be in consonance with the age old tenets of truth, tolerance, equity, justice, good conscience and fair play which

ought to remain unchangeable. The status, dignity and importance of the two Institutions, namely the Legislature and the Judicature are derived primarily from the status, dignity and the importance of the respective causes that are assigned to their charge by the Constitution. These two august bodies as well as the Executive which is another important constituent of the democratic state, must function not in antimony nor in the spirit of hostility but rationally, harmoniously and in the spirit of understanding within their respective spheres. Such harmonious working of the three constituents of the democratic state alone will help the peaceful development, growth and stabilisation of the democratic way of life.²⁹ According to the view of democracy that underlies originalism, it is illegitimate for the judiciary to go beyond the enforcement of policy choices to the making of policy choices - atleast, it is illegitimate unless the judiciary is authorised to do so by the legislative and executive branches. And it is illegitimate in extremis for the undemocratic judiciary to oppose itself, in constitutional cases, to the democratic branches and agencies of Government on the basis of beliefs never constitutionalized by the ratifiers.³⁰

It must always be remembered that while the jurisdiction of the courts cannot be trifled with, it cannot also be expanded. It is for the courts to adhere to such a salient feature in an independent Judiciary which alone ultimately will lead to a happy and true democracy. The conduct of democracy is based on checks and balances, the institutional heads are to take recourse to the authority derived from the Constitution. The institutions of democracy constantly interact and co-operate with one another to ensure the survival of democracy.

The Constitution is not a beginning nor an end, but part of a timeless process.³¹ Time works changes, brings into existence new conditions and purposes. Therefore, a principle, to be vital, must be capable of wider application

than mischief which gave it birth.³² The future is their care, and provisions of events of good and bad tendencies of which no prophecy can be made. In the application of a Constitution, therefore, our contemplation cannot be only of what has been, but of what may be. Under any other rule a Constitution would indeed be as easy of application as it would be deficient in efficacy and power. Its general principles would have little value, and be converted by precedent into impotent and lifeless formulas. Rights declared in the words might be lost in reality. And this has been recognised. The meaning and vitality of the Constitution have developed against narrow and restrictive construction.³³

The Lord Buddha, indeed, was the man to have envisaged the basic concepts of social living and human relationships. His ideas were as dynamic and revolutionary as original. It is not surprising, therefore, that the latest theories of socialism and democracy seem to have live wires in the original thoughts of Buddha. Every socialistic and democratic principle in the realm of politics and socio-economic matters finds its origin in the Buddhist Sutras, with the divergence that the basic social philosophy in Buddhism was comparatively larger and definitely more purposeful than the social philosophies applied by modern Socialists. However, the political thinkers could only conceive of a temporary well being or happiness, while Buddha showed the means to achieve permanent success.³⁴ The wonderful aspect of Buddhism is the respect for religious freedom of individual and stress for the use of free thinking and reasoning by self and to give credence even to one's own words by simple faith. Most of the Sutras in different Yanas are replete with discussions and debates of disciplines. The "Arya-Mahaparinirvana - nara Sutra" specially reiterates the strongest arguments of disciplines with Buddha, which, perhaps are more drastic than today's parliamentary debates. It evinces

that Buddha greatly encouraged the right of speech and discussion in every field, and admitted criticism without an unpleasant feeling.³⁵

There appears to be a subtle feeling, may among some of the Tibetans that the theory of Karma is undoubtedly, a profound philosophy which explains many mysteries of life and death. But if the theory of Karma, the foundation stone of Buddhism, is advanced as a mystical justification for the ugly social fact of the few rich becoming richer at the cost of the majority poor becoming poorer, then it is time the whole theory of Karma is revised if not discarded in the social struggle to equality and justice.³⁶ Thus it is concluded that there is no justification for Buddhism and democracy. It is the democracy which gives the conscience absolute liberty. Woodrow Wilson, long ago said: "The world must be made safe for democracy". The spiritual founder of Pakistan, Iqbal said : The Kingdom of God on earth, means the democracy of more or less unique individuals, presided over by the most unique individual possible on this earth.³⁷ His Holiness the Dalai Lama also points out that the basis of human society is cooperation and in today's global economy, growing interdependence necessitates new, more cooperative associations - Democracy and cooperation are the only stable foundation upon which a global political structure can be built. According to him democracy is closest to humanity's essential nature.³⁸ Democracy is a very vague and general term whose antithesis is dictatorship. A popular definition of democracy is a government "of the people, for the people and by the people". But according to Marxist view, democracy is of two broad categories: the democracy of the rich and democracy of the poor. The democracy of the rich is dictatorship of bourgeoisie or capitalist democracy in which all are equal but the few rich are more equal than the majority poor. The democracy of the

poor is the dictatorship of the proletariat or socialist democracy in which the poor masses are more equal than the rich in exercising their political, social and economic freedoms. Communist or classless society is the ultimate and final product of socialist democracy. Therefore, communism is not the anti-thesis but the thesis towards the purest democracy in which the rich will cease to exist as a class to exploit and oppress the poor.³⁹ In a capitalist democracy, everyone has the right to become a capitalist at the cost of the working people. However, in a socialist democracy, no one has the right to become a capitalist as the socialist principle "he who does not work, neither shall he eat" and "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" will prevail.⁴⁰ In a society there may be people who may not be capable to work or have ability to earn at all, but have the needs. So the best working philosophy may be "Work according to capacity, earn according to ability and spend according to one's needs." Time and again, the Dalai Lama has stressed the similarities between Mahayana and Marxism. He was first to declare : "If a Buddhist were to choose an economic system, it would be Marxism and if a Marxist were to choose a philosophical system, it would be Buddhism."⁴¹ However, His Holiness feels that these countries (Russia and China) are mixing up Marxism and their national political interests and also their thirst for world hegemony - leadership.⁴²

The Chinese officials and army in control of Tibet today alongwith Chinese Settlers, will have to leave Tibet for their homeland China, with a view to create a congenial atmosphere, for peaceful take over of the administration by Tibetans. The ultimate decision about the future of Tibet, of course, will have to be taken by the majority of Tibetans, bearing in mind that dissent is integral part of democracy. Of course, democracy is a system wherein all political parties and ideologies must

be allowed to grow. Ideologies can be countered ideologically.⁴³ Tibetans ought to have liberty to choose their Government. This will not only be democratic but also just, expedient and in the ends of justice, fair play and good conscience. The ultimate Tibetan goal being to achieve a happy life of liberty for all Tibetans. However, liberty does not descend to a people, they have to snatch it. But they have every right to self-determination- to decide their own political, cultural and economic destiny and this right to self-determination is not a discovery of 20th Century. Some of the world's greatest political philosophers such as John Stuart Mill, Rosseau, Jafferson or Lenin, advocated this right and recognised it as a foundation stone of democracy.⁴⁴ The success or failure of democracy, of course will depend upon the sincerity of the Tibetan people, of their faith in democratic system in which the people are the source of all authority and the constant vigilance by the people will be the most effective check on the entire administrative system. According to E.M.S. Namboodiripad the democratic essence of the administrative system, the accountability of those who carry on day-to-day administration to the representatives of the people, begins at the centre and ends at the State level, Lower down, in the district, sub-district or division, taluqa, tehsil or thana, and the village, the executive authority rests with the permanent officials.⁴⁵ That is why the Mahatma declared: "The centre of power now is in New Delhi or in Calcutta or in Bombay, in the big cities. I will have it distributed among the seven lakh villages of India." The people's participation in day-to-day administration, without interfering with it, is prerequisite for the success of democracy. Tibetans appear to be well determined in establishing democracy in Tibet. Even the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, in his foreward to the Constitution of Tibet which was proclaimed on March 10, 1963 says: "Even prior to my departure from Tibet in

March, 1959, I had come to the conclusion that in the changing circumstances of the modern world, the system of governance in Tibet must be modified and amended as to allow the elected representatives of the people to play a more effective role in guiding and shaping the social and economic policies of the State. I also firmly believe that this could only be done through democratic institutions based on social and economic justice."⁴⁶

At the time of selection of 14th Dalai Lama, the Tibetan Buddhists pointed out an ancient prophecy that the 14th Dalai Lama would leave Tibet during his life time but that he would return. The return of His Holiness to Tibet will mean his occupation of Golden Throne, soon after Tibet regains its independence. The prophecy also said that the 14th Dalai Lama would be the last.⁴⁷ There is also prophecy made recently by the thirteenth Gyalwa Rinpoche when he said: that there would be a time when there would be no Gyalwa Rinpoche and no Panchen Rinpoche and that all other reincarnations would die and nobody would be allowed to search for their successors. All memory of our ancient past would be wiped out; land and property would be taken away; there would be time of no food and a time when days and nights would be passed in fear." This prophecy was given by Thuben Gyatso in the year of his death, 1933 and within about two decades, it was to come true.⁴⁸ The prophecy appears to be in consonance with the proposed Constitution visualised by Tibetans in exile wherein it is specifically provided that His Holiness The Dalai Lama will not hold any post under the Constitution. Though, under Article 29(1) of the 1963 Constitution the executive power on the State shall be vested in His Holiness the Dalai Lama. This is with regard to the temporal power, but so far as the religious spiritual - (philosopher & Guide) powers are concerned His Holiness will be available to the Tibetans for guidance. The Dalai Lama, during

past several centuries has been treated as "God - King: The institution of the Dalai Lama is likely to continue, His Holiness being an article of Faith with Tibetans, is a uniting force for all the Tibetans, whether living in Home Land or in Exile. It is the faith that makes man aspire, strive and awakens him to tasks in the early glow of dawn. Faith is a subjective process and it grows within. Tibetans faith in their living future is giving meaning to their lives. The reverence in which the person of His Holiness is held by all Tibetans both as spiritual and temporal ruler and as the symbolic representation of Tibetan nationhood, forges together all Tibetans into one united people. Tibetans by their acts have sufficiently and unequivocally demonstrated that His Holiness is their supreme authority, leader, philosopher, inspiration and guide. The institution of Dalai Lama needs to be taken seriously which appears to have been taken by Tibetans & certainly they will survive and undoubtedly succeed in establishing democracy as visualised by Tibetans in exile.

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CHAPTER TEN

EPILOGUE

It is chronicled that Nya-Tri-Tsem-po was the first ever king who succeeded in subjugating war-like tribes inhabiting Tibet. He is credited to have ruled Tibet some 2000 years ago. He was followed in succession by as many as 40 Kings for almost 1000 years. The Kingdom, however, disintegrated because of fratricidal war that ensued on the death of forty-first King in the line. It was after a lapse of more than 350 years that the high Lama of the great Sakya monastery became the ruler of all the three provinces of Tibet. The Lama's rule lasted till 1435 AD when secular monarchy re-appeared on the scene. It was then in 1642 A.D. that the Great 5th Dalai Lama received temporal power over the whole of the country and the present form of Government known as Gaden-Phodrang was founded. The system has lasted virtually intact under successive Dalai Lamas. In his hands lay both the direction of the Buddhist church and the administration of the country. The dual nature of his position was reflected in the administrative structure divided into civil and monastic branches. The post of Prime Minister had its roots in remote antiquity. It was revived by the Thirteenth Dalai Lama but was abandoned in 1940, though briefly resurrected by the present Dalai Lama in 1950. The highest and the most important office of the Tibetan Government was the Council of Ministers which acted collectively in all secular matters of

administration. The highest administrative office below the Council was the Financial Department comprising of four Finance Ministers. Their duties consisted of mainly revenue record, assessing taxes etc. Just below the Financial Department but directly answerable to the Council, were some other specialised Departments headed by one official and one monk official. The Lord Chamberlain had direct access to the Dalai Lama on matters within the jurisdiction of the Monk officials. The functions of the monastic Council was to deal with religious matters. There were three types of assemblies some of which met on regular basis. The smallest of these was a Standing Committee consisting of four lay Finance Ministers and four monks of the monastic Council. It was convened at the request of the Council of Ministers. The intermediate assembly was convened for matters of great importance. In times of great national importance it was customary for a full assembly to be summoned.

Shortly after his arrival in India, the Dalai Lama announced that, "Wherever I am, accompanied by my Government, the Tibetan people will recognise us as the Government of Tibet." Although, the international community has refrained from granting de-jure recognition, the fact remains that he presides not only over a Government-in-Exile but also a nation in Exile. One of the first acts of his Government after reaching India was to write a democratic Constitution for Tibet. The draft contains a bill of rights and provisions for representative presidential form of Government, universal suffrage for those over the age of eighteen, free elections, an independent judiciary and major land reforms. In essence it endeavours to combine and harmonise the principles of the doctrine of Lord Buddha with those enunciated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Constitution is a radical departure from the existing system with Dalai Lama having States and Statute of God King, to having no post in the Constitution. The

Constitution will remain in draft form until approved by the Tibetans including those still living under the Chinese Yoke; for the Dalai Lama is convinced that a Government should always be by the will and through the co-operation of the people.

Tibet's history may convince any one that Tibet before its occupation by Chinese armed forces in 1950-51 was an independent country. There is ample unimpeachable, cogent and reliable evidence to show that Tibet in the recent past was an independent country. It was the British who had become accustomed to dealing with Tibet through China for their own selfish ends. The attitude of Manchu empire towards the British in the mid-nineteenth century was their refusal to even discuss the demarcation of the Ladakh - Tibet boundary as proposed by the Government of India in 1846. When in 1885 the Government of India attempted to test the Chefoo Convention, the realities of China's supposedly suzerain position in Tibet began to emerge. Lord Macaulay sought permission from Chinese to visit Lhasa for a trade mission which was denied on the grounds of Interventional considerations. But the truth of the matter was that Tibetans had refused to accept the British mission. John Mac Gregor analysed: "China's suzerain authority was more theoretical than real. Not only had the Thirteenth Dalai Lama come of age and assumed his traditional powers and prerogations, But Peking's ability to resist Tibetan autonomy was severely diminished." John Mac Gregor in his book "Tibet - A Chronicle of Exploration" (1972) on authority of Sir Charles Bell has stated: "The Republican Revolution which swept the tottering Manchus from power in 1911 provided the Tibetans with an opportunity to throw out the Chinese occupation forces with considerable ruthlessness. The Dalai Lama returned to Lhasa in June 1912 and ruled his country for the duration of his thirteenth incarnation. In his last will and testament, drawn up a

shortly before his death in 1931, the God King foresaw the Communist threat to Asia and warned his people: 'Unless we can guard our own country, it will happen that the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama, the Father and the Son, the Holder of the Faith, the Glorious Rebirth, will be broken down and left without a name.' Tibetans must proceed towards their goal of independence, remembering that it was once that was humbly possible and that the Tibet's independence is not just a dream. His Holiness, the Dalai Lama has been ekeing towards Tibet's independence and for establishing peace without any victory over China, when he agrees to leave Foreign Affairs and Defence with China, as victory otherwise would mean peace forced upon China than the outcome of mutual understanding and co-operation. He prefers non-violence to violence and peace over war. The essence of ethics of Tibetan social and religious life is based on contentment, peace and happiness. Happiness is an universal wish. Every human-being desires happiness. But happiness is not worldly pleasure alone - it relates to soul. Contentment and peace of mind are its main pre-requisites. All the saints emphasise simple living with minimum possible desires. Such a life of contentment is conducive to happiness. Undoubtedly, contentment is the nature's gift to Tibetans. Their faith in Buddhism gave them the direction to live a simple life with minimum needs and thus bestowed them with the virtue of contentment in life.

Faith and reason complement each other. These two are not antagonistic. Since the emergence of the great 5th Dalai Lama and continuance of the line, the institution has emerged synonymous with faith. The Dalai Lama has been an embodiment of faith with Tibetans. To the people of Tibet, the Dalai Lama is a human manifestation of their patron-saint, the Lord of Mercy and Compassion returned to earth to guide them on the path to enlightenment. Those living inside Tibet still look to him

as their supreme ruler and pray that one day he will return to them in their land of snow. Those living outside Tibet also look to him as head of their nation in exile. "Probably no leader in the world is so much loved by his followers" wrote Thomas Merton in 1973, "He means everything to them."

The Chinese right from the occupation of Tibet since 1951 have started demographic aggression on Tibetans, to the extent that Tibetans in their country are now in minority; with 7 million Chinese population in comparison to 6 million Tibetans. All out efforts by the Chinese to annihilate Tibetans and their culture and identity are discernible. This is happening despite China's disputed 17-Point Agreement with Tibet and the spirit of Indo-Beijing Panch Sheel treaty signed at Delhi on April 29, 1954. Tibetans' continuous genocide and uninterrupted violation of human rights, exhibit scant respect to the principles of Panch Sheel - i.e., co-existence, non-aggression; non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, respect for each others sovereignty, equality and mutual benefits. It will not be out of place to say that India's signing (during September 1993) another trade treaty with China, its acknowledgement of actual line of control against the Parliament's resolution and ignoring tripartite Simla Agreement executed between China, Great Britain and Tibet during 1914 is a pointer towards not allowing political and territorial recognition to Tibet. The agreement ought to have been tripartite. Tibetans' deserve to be included in such like talks. China is occupying a large portion of Indian territory since November. 1962 aggression and the agreement may help them as China has a complete control of Tibetans Plateau whereas India is stuck on to the high altitude mountains guarding its borders and straining its finances. China is in an advantageous position as far as rail, road and troop movement is concerned. China continues to be in illegal possession of a large chunk of Indian territory which includes Aksai Chin as

well as many places of pilgrimage, especially Kailash and Mansarovar. Pakistan has already illegally "ceded" 5180 sq. km. land out of Pakistan occupied Kashmir to China, 1993 agreement overlooks the sad and humiliating happenings of 1962 - the Chinese aggression. There does not seem to be any desire on our part to - regain lost territories and lost honour. India is behaving too small. India needs to learn a lesson from past experience and ought not to stumble over the same stone twice. Ours is only a developing country which is yet to come of age. India's shrinking stature has extended globally. The world community and big powers may be unwilling to give much credence to the concerns of India, as China's disregard for all international norms concerning human rights of the people of Tibet and its forcible occupation is likely to stay in its way to acquire "World Power" status.

Uranium in Tibet under imperialistic and colonial China, with capabilities of its conversion into atomic energy is posing a real and great danger to world peace. No one is in doubt that China in all probability has perfected and piled up atomic powered devices. Its deplorable human rights record and colonial attitude and utter disregard for peaceful co-existence, coupled with the scant respect for Tibet's territorial and international sovereignty, continuous and forcible occupation of Tibet in reality is a negative point in its becoming world power. Although China continues to be the member of the UNO, since its formation on October 24, 1945 at San Francisco and enjoys the status of one of the five members of Security Council - a committee of UNO, with a right of veto, but its ambition to replace and occupy the place of Russia as a world super-power may not materialise unless and until it takes liberal attitude towards Tibetan's demand for independence. Otto Habur, a German scientist was awarded Nobel Prize for 1944-45 on his success in

making an atom bomb by splitting the atom. It was, however, USA which was the first country to test the atom bomb in the deserts of Mexico and was ultimately tempted to drop Atomic bomb on Hiroshima on August 6, 1945 and on Nagasaki on August 9, 1945. An American scientist, describing nuclear power as the "Fifth Horseman" recently enumerated the long term danger of storing nuclear wastes. Regrettably these have not been fully appreciated, nor the fact that the nuclear waste is very difficult to dispose of. Thrown into the sea, it would kill fish and other marine life; dumped elsewhere, even in deserts and valleys, it would emit radiation still posing danger to life as also to human-beings. The pity is that the nuclear wastes are piling up fast. China is using Tibet's territory for dumping its nuclear waste, with consequences hazardously detrimental to the life and property of the people of Tibet and in the ultimate analysis endangering the peace of the neighbouring countries and eventually peace in the world.

China is setting up new nuclear dumping basis, particularly in Amdo area of Eastern Tibet. On September 17, 1993, the US Administration announced that their satellites had detected Chinese preparations to conduct an underground nuclear test in Lop Nor in Zinjiang. The test is expected to be conducted any time. China in its rapid pace of economic development has not failed to realise that demand and supply of energy too have to maintain matching pace. One of the major problems of supply that China faces despite its abundant potential, is the uneven distribution of energy resources.

According to latest discernible trends, China is contemplating to adopt the US Style federal system that would convert China's rubber-stamp Parliament of to-day into a real democratic institution. China appears to have been shaken by the unquenchable thirst of its own people to enjoy freedom of speech of movement and the

press, as in other democratic countries. Tibetans in exile, are also keen to have democracy in Tibet. The democracies in China and Tibet are likely to generate goodwill and pave way for mutual understanding co-operation ultimately ushering in peace, tranquility and stability in the region.

Tibet, when considered from different angles, is not just a myth but a reality. It is hoped that the public opinion generated will culminate in restoring human rights, independence to the concerned people and peace in the region.

In my present endeavour I have tried to collect and exhibit the realities concerning the land and the people. The facts speak for themselves. The purpose of my studies has been craving for seeking the truth in the present context. China has its own great historical record and image. The events which took place in Tibet and China since time immemorial are a testimony to the fact that if there is peace in this region, the world would be happier.

If the material made available in the present volume, helps restoring peace, goodwill, mutual understanding and cooperation in the region, I shall consider my labour to have been amply rewarded. The facts incorporated in the book are more the contribution and findings of the great authorities on the subject who have been quoted invariably and for whom I have so much of reverence.

THE FOURTEEN DALAI LAMAS OF TIBET

Gedun Truppa	1391 (Iron - Sheep:) - 1472 (Water Dragon) Father: Gonpo Dorji; Mother: Jomo Namkha Kyi; Birth place: Syab Towar Tso Tsang Province.
Gedun Gyatsho	1475: (Wood Sheep) - 1542: (Water Tiger) Father: Kungah Gyaltsen;

- Mother: Kungah Palmo; Birth place: Tanag Yalkar Dorjiden, Tsang Province.
- Sonam Gyatsho 1543 (Water Hare) - 1588 (Earth mouse); Father: Depa Namgyal Dargpa; Mother: Paljom Buti; Birth place: Toiung Khangsar Gong Central Tibet.
- Yonten Gyasho 1589 (Earth Bull) 1616 (Fire Dragon); Father: Mongol Chieftian Serchen Choskhor son of Altan Khan; Mother: Khennu Li, younger queen of chief Serchen Choskhor; Birth Place: Mongolia.
- Ngawang Lobsang Gyatsho 1617 (Fire Snake) 1682 (Water Dog); Father: Niwang Dudul Rabten; Mother: Kungah Lhaze; Birth Place: Chongay Tagser, Lhoka, Central Tibet.
- Tsanyang Gyatsho 1683: (Water Hog) 1706 (Fire Dog); Father: Tashi Tenzin; Mother: Tsewang Lhamo; Birth Place: Tawang (Lhahog Yulsum).
- Kalsang Gyatsho 1708 (Earth Mouse) 1757 (Fire Bull); Father: Sonam Dargay; Mother: Sonam Chos Cho; Birth Place: Lithang, Kham Province.
- Jampal Gyatsho 1758 (Earth Tiger) 1804 (Wood Mouse); Father: Sonam Dargay; Mother: Phuntsog Wangmo; Birth Place: Thobgyal, Tsang Province.
- Lungtok Gyatsho 1805 (Wood Bull) 1815 (Wood Hog); Father: Mother: Dhondup Dolma; Birth Place: Den Choskhor, Kham Province.

Tsultrim Gyatsho	1816 (Fire Mouse) 1837 (Fire Fowl); Birth Place: Lithang, Kham Province.
Khedup Gyatsho	1838: (Earth Mouse) 1855 (Wood Hare); Birth Place: Tao Garthar, Kham Province.
Trinley Gyatsho	1856: (Fire Dragon) 1875 (Wood Hog); Father: Phuntsog Tsewang; Mother Tsering Yudon; Birth Place: Holgah Zingchi Shyol, Lhoka, Central Province.
Thubten Gyatsho	1876: (Fire mouse) 1933 (Water bird); Father Kungah Rinchen; Mother: Lebsang Dolma; Birth Place: Langdun, Degpo South East Tibet.
Tenzin Gyatsho	1935 (Wood Hog); Father: Choskyong Tsering; Mother: Sonam Tso; Birth Place: Tagtser; Kumbum, Amdo.

By/ Courtesy: Inder Malik, Dalai Lamas of Tibet, (1984)

THE TIBETAN CALENDAR

1927 Five-Hare Year	1957 Fire-Bird Year
1928 Earth-Dragon Year	1958 Earth Dog Year
1929 Earth-Snake Year	1959 Earth-Pig Year
1930 Iron-Horse Year	1960 Iron-Mouse Year
1931 Iron-Sheep Year	1961 Iron-Bull Year
1932 Water-Ape Year	1962 Water-Tiger Year
1933 Water-Bird Year	1963 Water-Hare Year
1934 Wood-Dog Year	1964 Wood-Dragon Year

1935 Wood-Pig Year	1965 Wood-Snake Year
1936 Fire-Mouse Year	1966 Fire-Horse Year
1937 Fire-Bull Year	1967 Fire-Sheep Year
1938 Earth-Tiger Year	1968 Earth-Ape Year
1939 Earth-Hare Year	1969 Earth-Bird Year
1940 Iron-Dragon Year	1970 Iron-Dog Year
1941 Iron-Snake Year	1971 Iron-Pig Year
1942 Water-Horse Year	1972 Water-Mouse Year
1943 Water-Sheep Year	1973 Water-Bull Year
1944 Water-Ape Year	1974 Wood-Tiger Year
1945 Wood-Bird Year	1975 Wood-Hare Year
1946 Fire-Dog Year	1976 Fire-Dragon Year
1947 Fire-Pig Year	1977 Fire-Snake Year
1948 Earth-Mouse Year	1978 Earth-Horse Year
1949 Earth-Bull Year	1979 Earth-Sheep Year
1950 Iron-Tiger Year	1980 Iron-Ape Year
1951 Iron-Hare Year	1981 Iron-Bird Year
1952 Water-Dragon Year	1982 Water-Dog Year
1953 Water-Snake Year	1983 Water-Pig Year
1954 Wood-Horse Year	1984 Wood-Mouse Year
1955 Wood-Sheep Year	1985 Wood-Bull Year
1956 Fire-Ape Year	1986 Fire-Tiger Year

The element which is the first part of the name of each year, counts as "male" the first time, and "female" the second. Thus 1960 is the "male" Iron-Mouse Year. Apart from these divisions into elements and animals there is also a cycle of sixty years. At the moment, according to the Tibetan Calendar, we are living in the sixteenth cycle, which began in 1927 with the "female Fire-Hare Year."

Thubten Norbu, As Told to Heinrich Harrer, Tibet is my country, (1960).

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

127 B.C.	The Tibetan State started with the establishment of the Yarlung Dynasty.
7th Century A.D.	Tibet unified under King Song-tsen Gampo.
821-823	Formal peace treaty concluded between China and Tibet ensuring "Tibetans shall be happy in Tibet and Chinese shall be happy in China."
13th Century	Tibet-Mongol Agreements - Tibetan leaders of the powerful Sakya school of Tibetan Buddhism, concluded an agreement with Mongol rulers to avoid the conquest of Tibet.
1350	Tibet broke political ties with the Yuan emperor, before China regained its independence from Mongols.
1386-1644	Tibet developed no ties with Chinese Ming Dynasty.
1639	The Vth Dalai Lama accepted the Manchu's Emperors wish to patronise him and his church. The relationship between the two was known in Tibet as the "Cho-Yon", the priest-Patron relationship.
1642	H.H. the 5th Dalai Lama in line of God King started ruling Tibet. Great Vth Dalai Lama became the

- supreme temporal and spiritual head of unified Tibet.
- 1642 The Vth Great Dalai Lama's rise to power and his enthronement as supreme ruler of Tibet.
- 1644 The Manchus established the Qing Dynasty and conquered China.
- 1653 Emperor Shunzi-Manchu Empire, invited the Vth Dalai Lama for a State visit to China.
- 1681 Tibet-Bushahar Treaty.
- 1683 Tibet-Ladakh Treaty.
- 1717 Mongols invaded Tibet
- 1720 Dzungar Mongols were defeated with the help of Manchu Emperor.
- 1728 Two Manchu residents were appointed in Lhasa; generally referred to by their title; Amban
- 1751 Imperial troops entered Tibet to help Tibetans to restore law and order.
- 1792 Imperial troops were sent to Tibet to help Tibetans, Gorkha, invaders were driven out of Tibet, Tibet-Nepal treaty.
- 1793 Emperor was authorised to give advice to the Kashag - The Dalai Lama's cabinet and was empowered to exercise control over external matters.
- 1793 Tibet-Manchu imperial edict.
- 1841 Tibet-Ladakh Treaty.
- 1842 Tibetans-Dogra's Peace treaty.
- 1856 Tibet-Nepal Treaty.

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1876	Chafoo Convention, Britain-China.
July 24, 1886	Tibet-Burma Treaty.
March 17, 1890	Convention, Britain China, relating to Sikkim and Tibet.
August 27, 1890	Ratifications exchanged at London between Britain and China.
December 5, 1893	Regulations, regarding trade, communication, and Pasturage, signed at Darjeeling.
1903	The British briefly invaded Tibet.
September 7, 1904	Convention between Great Britain and Tibet signed at Lhasa; Lhasa Convention.
November 11, 1904	Ratification at SIMLA
April 27, 1906	Convention between Britain & China, respecting Tibet, signed at Peking.
July 23, 1906	Ratification exchanged at London. China recognised Lhasa Convention of 1904.
August 31, 1907	Convention between Britain & Russia, relating to Persia, Afghanistan and Tibet, signed at Peterburg.
April 20, 1908	Agreement between Britain, China and Tibet amending Trade regulation December 5, 1893.
October 14, 1908	Ratification exchanged at Peking.
1910	Imperial arms from Sichuan entered Lhasa. Dalai Lama and his government sought exile in British India.
1911	Revolution broke out in China. The imperial troops mutinied in Tibet and attacked Tibetans.

- 1912 The Chinese troops surrendered and were repatriated to China via India.
- 1912 The 13th Dalai Lama returned to Lhasa and issued a proclamation of independence.
- 1911 - 1913 The period saw the expulsion of Imperial Manchu troops and officials from Tibet and complete severance of Tibetans ties with the Manchus.
- January 1913 Treaty between Tibet-Mangolia signed at Urga.
- 1913 Tripartite conference in Simla, China, Britain and Tibet.
- March 24, 1914 Indo-Tibet Frontier, treaty 1914, signed at Delhi.
- 1914 SIMLA convention, between Britain, China and Tibet.
- 1922 Thubten Sigma Norbu-oldest brother.
- 1930 The Chinese sent a member of missions in Tibet.
- December 17, 1933 Thupten Gyatsa, The Thirteenth Dalai Lama died in Lhasa.
Died at the age of 57 (Departed from the world).
- 1935 A representative of Chinese Government was permitted to stay in Lhasa.
- July 6, 1935 Fourteenth Dalai Lama's date of birth.
V. Taktser, Dokham District, Tibet.
9,000 ft. above sea.
V. on a little plateau, encircled by fertile lands.

Wheat Barley.

Plateau surrounded by ranges of green hills.

Mother gave birth to sixteen children.

Widely spread out in range.

Nine died young.

Four brothers-two sisters.

Winter 1940

Taken to Potala, officially installed as spiritual leader of Tibet.

1943

The Bureau of Foreign Affairs set up by Tibet Govt.

1948

A Tibetan Government trade delegation visited India, China, the United States of America, United Kingdom, France and Italy. The delegates travelled on Tibetan Passports except in China.

1949 October 7, 1950 The Chinese Govt's representative expelled from Tibet. The Chinese forces attacked territory governed by Tibet.

November 17, 1950 Enthroned.

May 23, 1951 Seventeenth Point Agreement signed.

April 29, 1954 Indo-Beijing Panch Sheel Treaty. Trade agreement between India and China, India recognised that Tibet was the region of China.

September 20, 1956 Trade agreement between Nepal and China; Nepal recognising Tibet as region of China.

1956 Dalai Lama visited India on the auspicious occasion of Buddha Jayanti.

March 11, 1959	Seventeenth Point Agreement repudiated by Dalai Lamas Kashag.
March 12, 1959	Left Lhasa.
March 18, 1959	Left Lhasa.
March 20, 1959	Shelling at Lhasa.
March 31, 1959	Fled Tibet.
April 10, 1959	Reached Bomdila.
April 18, 1959	Left Bomdila - after 10 days of rest.
April 24, 1959	Meeting with Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru.
June 20, 1959	Dalai Lama himself publically repudiated Seventeenth Point Programme.
September 7, 1959	Meeting with Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru and Indira Ji. Tsering Dolma eldest sister Eighteen years older to H.H. the Dalai Lama. Gyalo Tondup-brother - eight years older than H.H. Dalai Lama. Lobsan Samten-Immediate elder brother. Three years older than H.H. Dalai Lama.
April 29, 1960	Left Mussoorie
April 30, 1960	Reached Dharamshala
1962	China attacked India.

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APPENDIX

THE AGREEMENT OF THE CENTRAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT AND THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT OF TIBET ON MEASURES FOR THE PEACEFUL LIBERATION OF TIBET

Signed in Beijing on May 23, 1951

(Preamble omitted)

1. The Tibetan people shall unite and drive out imperialist aggressive forces from Tibet; the Tibetan people shall return to the big family of the Motherland - the People's Republic of China.

2. The Local Government of Tibet shall actively assist the People's Liberation Army to enter Tibet and consolidate the national defence.

3. In accordance with the policy towards nationalities laid down in the Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, the Tibetan people have the right of exercising national regional autonomy under the unified leadership of the Central People's Government.

4. The central authorities will not alter the existing political system in Tibet. The central authorities also will not alter the established status, functions and powers of

the Dalai Lama. Officials of various ranks shall hold office as usual.

5. The established status, functions and powers of the Panchen Erdeni shall be maintained.

6. By the established status, functions and powers of the Dalai Lama and of the Panchen Erdeni are meant the Status, functions and powers of the 13th Dalai Lama and of the 9th Panchen Erdeni when they were in friendly and amicable relations with each other.

7. The policy of freedom of religious belief laid down in the Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference shall be carried out. The religious beliefs, customs and lama monasteries shall be protected. The central authorities will not effect a change in the income of the monasteries.

8. Tibetan troops shall be reorganized by stages into the People's Liberation Army, and become a part of the national defence forces of the People's Republic of China.

9. The spoken and written language and school education of the Tibetan nationality shall be developed step by step in accordance with the actual conditions in Tibet.

10. Tibetan agriculture, livestock raising, industry and commerce shall be developed step by step, and the people's livelihood shall be improved step by step in accordance with the actual conditions in Tibet.

11. In matters related to various reforms in Tibet, there will be no compulsion on the part of the central authorities. The local government of Tibet should carry out reforms of its own accord, and when the people raise demands for reform they shall be settled by means of consultation with the leading personnel of Tibet.

12. In so far as former pro-imperialism and the Kuomintang and do not engage in sabotage or resistance, they may continue to hold office irrespective of their past.

13. The People's Liberation army entering Tibet shall abide by all the above-mentioned policies and shall also be fair in all buying and selling and shall not arbitrarily take a single needle or thread from the people.

14. The Central People's Government shall conduct the centralized handling of all external affairs of the area of Tibet; and there will be peaceful co-existence with neighbouring countries and establishment and development of fair commercial and trading relations with them on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for territory and sovereignty.

15. In order to ensure the implementation of this agreement, the Central People's Government shall set up a military and administrative committee and a military area headquarters in Tibet, and apart from the personnel sent there by the Central People's Government shall absorb as many local Tibetan personnel as possible to take part in the work.

Local Tibetan personnel taking part in the military and administrative committee may include patriotic elements from the Local Government of Tibet, various districts and leading monasteries; the name-list shall be drawn up after consultation between the representatives designated by the Central People's Government and the various quarters concerned, and shall be submitted to the Central People's Government for appointment.

16. Funds needed by the military and administrative committee, the military area headquarters and the People's Liberation Army entering Tibet shall be provided by the Central People's Government. The Local Government of

Tibet will assist the People's Liberation Army in the Purchase and transport of food, fodder and other daily necessities.

17. This agreement shall come into force immediately after signatures and seals are affixed to it.

Signed and sealed by:

Delegates with full powers of the Central People's Government:

Chief Delegate:

Li Weihsan

Delegates:

Zhang Jingwu

Zhang Guohua

Sun Zhiyuan

Delegates with full powers of the Local Government of Tibet:

Chief Delegate:

Kaloon Ngapo Ngawang Jigme

Delegates:

Dzasak Khemey Sonam Wangdi

Khentrung Thupten Thanthar

Khenchung Thupten Lekmuun

Rimshi Samposey Tenzin Thundup

Beijing, May 23, 1951.

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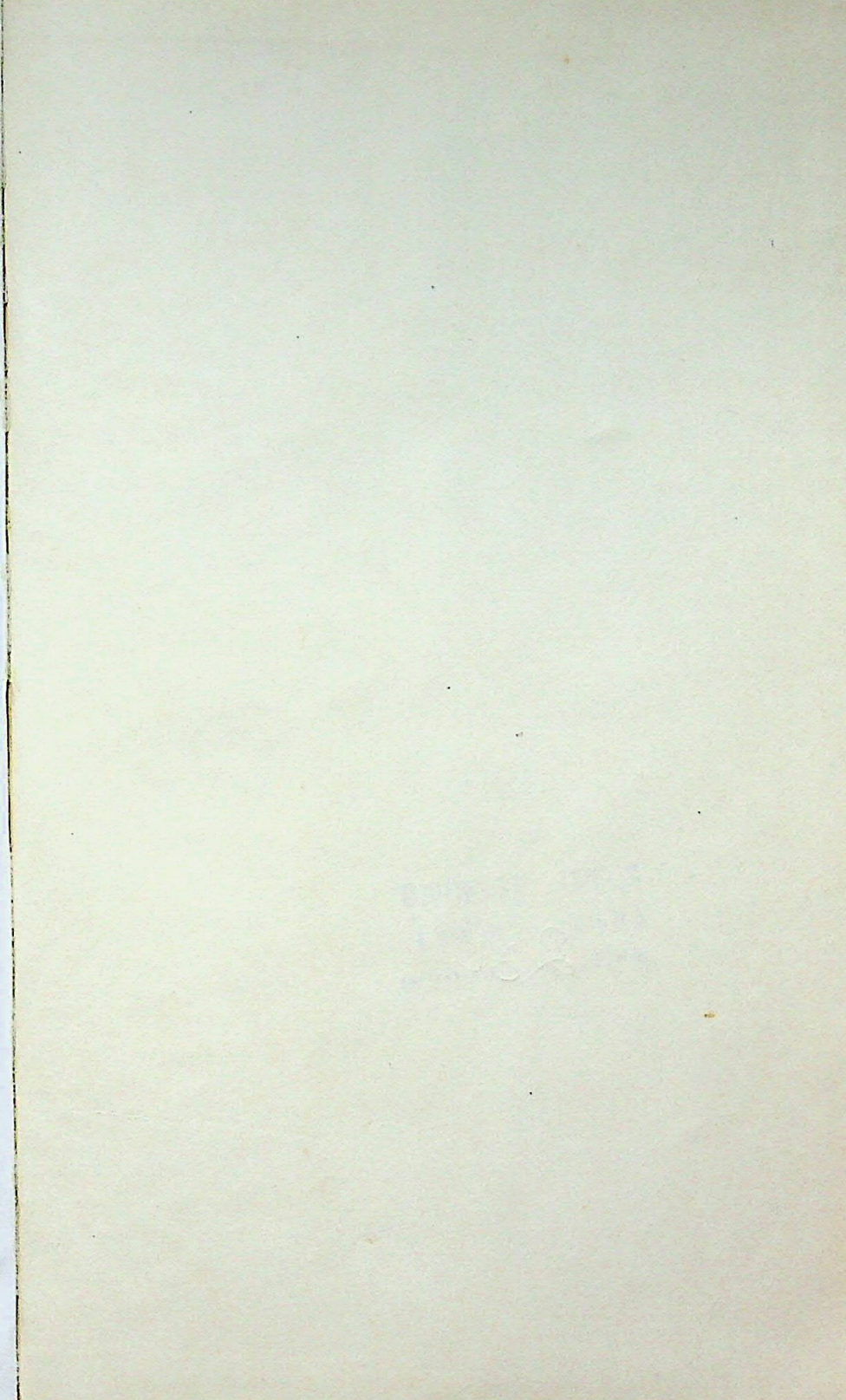
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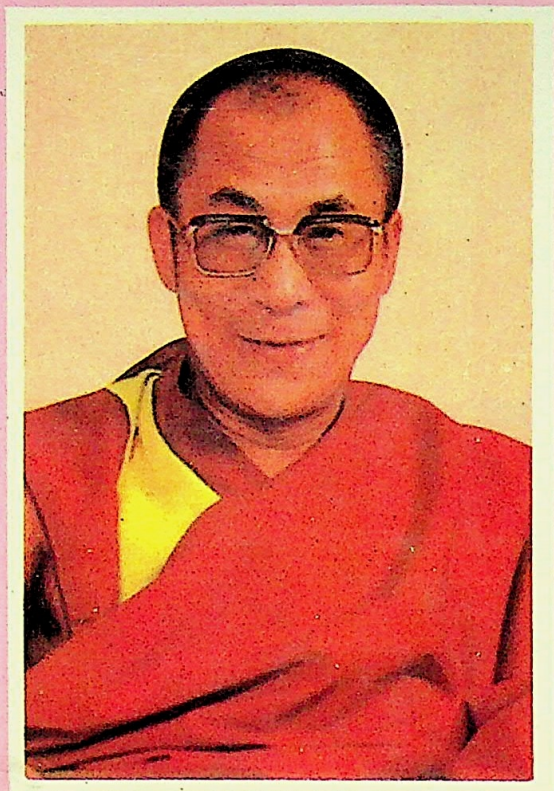
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